

For Free Distribution

THE  
**People of India:**

---

THEIR MANY MERITS

BY MANY WHO HAVE KNOWN THEM.

---

Collected and Edited with an Introduction

BY

ALFRED WEBB,

President Tenth Indian National Congress

---

"I love India, its people, its history, its Government, the  
absorbing mysteries of its civilization and its  
life"—Lord Curzon

---

Reprinted from 'India' and Published with an  
Appendix, containing more Testimonies,

BY

HARISCHANDRA ANANDRÁO TÁLCHERKAR, B.A.

Teacher, Aryan Education Society's High School, Bombay



1900

# P R E F A C E

---

THESE testimonies first appeared in the columns of *India* in the autumn of 1899. Their appearance in the present form has the approval of Mr Webb who conceived the happy idea of gathering up the opinions. In his Introduction which follows, he explains the reasons which induced him to collect these testimonies. The people of India are much beholden to him for his sympathy and generous sentiments. The occasion that called forth his efforts in this direction is happily becoming rarer day by day. The sorrows that, during the last five years, have lain so heavily upon this stricken land, have not, let us hope, been wholly unaccompanied by blessing. India's troubles have evoked in the four corners of the world the generous feeling of sympathy with her suffering millions,—a sympathy which, not to speak of the strenuous and humane efforts of Government to relieve distress, has been manifested by practical help and in noble deeds of charity among many who were bound to the sufferers only by the tie of a common humanity. The agony of India has evoked feelings which but prove the truth of the Poet's line 'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin'. These testimonies as to the character of the Indian people, as they appeared weekly, were likened to the physician's curative serum for grappling with an existing malady. May I venture to liken the present collection, in its more extended form, to the anti-toxin serum as a prophylactic,—an inoculation of sympathy? For the free use of this prophylactic of sympathy, by eminent Anglo-Indians and others, the public is indebted to the discriminating liberality of my friend, Mr Damodhardas Govardhundas Sukhadvala, J P, whose silent and unobtrusive work in the interests of his countrymen is now an open secret.

In the Appendix I have included some more testimonies, together with a few opinions touching the subject of Intercourse between Europeans and Indians. It was at one time thought proper by wise,

sympathetic and true-hearted Anglo-Indian worthies to place good advice in the shape of "Instructions," within the ken of every Briton on his way to India. The spring of love and sympathy in the human heart is perennial and can be freely tapped in all ages and climes, and to that feeling of humanity in the breast of every manly Briton and fellow-subject I respectfully commend these testimonies willingly borne by the wisest and best of their countrymen.

H A TALCHERKAR

VERONICA STIFFET, BAMBORA,  
*Bombay, December, 1900*



# INTRODUCTION.

BY ALFRED WEBB

THE editor of INDIA purposes to give space in successive numbers for a collection of testimony by competent authorities on the character of the Indian people, made by the above, primarily in response to a request inserted in INDIA and then with the encouragement or assistance of the following—mainly by the first named the others are placed in alphabetical order William Digby, C I E., London, Manoharlal Lutschi, Lucnow, Harischandra A Talcherkar, B A Bombay, M Venkatesh, Vizianagram, Juan Chandra Bannerjee, M A, Faridpur, Sir George Birdwood, K C I E., London, Romesh Chandra Dutt, London, Professor G K. Gokhale, Poona, Edmund Harvey, Waterford, Gordon Hewart London, A O Hume, C B., London, Sir William Markby, K C I E., Oxford, Sorabji Bamanji Munshi, Bombay, Dadabhai Naoroji, London, Dinsha Edulji Wacha, Bombay, Sir William Wedderburn, Bart, M P., London, W Martin Wood, London I had but prefaced the collection with the reasons that impelled me to set about making it.

It is my growing conviction that disastrous consequences must sooner or later result from persistent vilification of Indian character I belong to a subject people that have been a mark for vilification because impotent effectually to resent it I know how such vilification has worked in us, at times turning our better natures into gall, and being responsible for many a hideous passage in our history

India is more powerless than ever Ireland was to resent insult, and is therefore more exposed to it The attitude of too many of those in authority over her is "Let our strength be the law of justice, for that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth The consequences, sad enough upon the contracted stage of Ireland, may be terrible upon the vast continent and amid the immense population of India Even were material power left unchecked on earth, it were well to bear in mind, that science, which now subjects the multitude to wealth and training, may yet centre material power again in numbers Upon grounds of expediency alone, a different attitude were advisable towards our Indian fellow-subjects

My attention has but within late years been closely drawn towards Indian affairs Yet even within that period, the attitude of mind I have observed of too many of the dominant race, and the cruel expressions of opinion regarding India, that have incidentally come to my

notice, justify my concern, and have impelled me to make the collection of opinions to be found in the following columns of competent observers, favourable to Indian character

An official holding an important office, voyaging with me to India, declared "I hate the country and I hate the people." A reverend missionary, in a late number of the *Church Quarterly Review*, is responsible for the following "That the Hindus as a race are probably the most immoral, treacherous, and cunning people on the face of this wicked earth will generally be admitted. To expatiate on it would be waste of time." A missionary lady, whose name is respected in all British philanthropic circles, writes in the *Sentinel* for last April "Hinduism is impurity crystallized into a system." In a book lately published and entitled, "On the Edge of the Empire," one of whose authors is an officer, drawing his pay from the sweat of Indian labour, I find the following "The native of India, like the ape, is at his best in childhood and deteriorates as he grows older. It is a sure sign of a decayed race." A general, said to be in command in India, delivered himself a few months ago in these words "Lord Kitchener knew his business well and proved it at Omdurman. The only way to do is to exercise no mistaken clemency, but to slay and slay, and slay, recognising no surrender." That is the only logic that an eastern people can really understand. A special correspondent to India of a leading London daily paper declares "Not a single Native is to be trusted."

Those who indulge in such language are responsible for the establishment and maintenance of a state of feeling, resulting amongst degraded soldiers in savage assaults on unoffending Indians, and amongst degraded officials in the outrage of Indian womanhood for the gratification of the lusts of such soldiers. The cowardliness of such utterances is patent. Indian Native officials making similar statements concerning the English people would be cashiered, and would under recent enactments become liable to criminal prosecution. No missionary dare utter such views regarding a self-governing people such as the Japanese. Calumny little matters to independent, self-governing peoples. They can bear it. Belittling characters is one of the most potent excuses for refusing the victims justice, for contracting freedom, and ignoring their complaints.

Few there are whose minds do not often revert to the horrors of the French Revolution and the excesses on both sides in the Irish Insurrection of 1798. All who have read widely, must, in the works of Arthur Young and other observers, written before those events recognise in their portrayal of the attitude of the governing classes towards the people, premonition of subsequent events. No one desires that like catastrophes should overtake India. All the experiences of history will, however, be belied if, as I have before said, grave evils will not show themselves if the present attitude of too many towards the mass of the people be maintained. One of the most striking pictures of one of the great Italian masters in Florence is a portrayal of "Calumny." When I think of India and what is too often said and done regarding her

people, my thoughts revert to that picture, and I do not know whether most to sympathise with the defenceless figure in the foreground or to shrink in disgust from the varied forms of calumny encompassing her

Only principles inherently Christian, whether nominally so or not, could enable the Indian people to bear as patiently as they do the many influences now at work to traduce their good name

Those who vilify Indians are not only cowardly, they are open to the charge of being moved by interested motives (and the British public before giving credence to them should bear this in mind) It is the interest of British white officials to disparage Indians, so that their own class relatives and descendants may still as far as possible monopolise place, pay, and pension in and out of India

Nor are missionaries altogether free from interested motives when they unfairly depict Native character and thought Foreign mission work has become a career to thousands High and honorable calling as it is, it has its temptations and ethical dangers Young men and women are enabled through it to marry, to settle down and rearing families In the interest of missionary enterprise there is sometimes apparent a tendency to stimulate support by expatiating upon the darkest side of 'heathen' character The darker it is painted, the freer will be the flow of subscriptions, the more occupation there will be for the missionary There is a tendency to consider the missionary rather than the missionary object Sympathy is the best means of winning others to our opinions Where there is contempt there cannot be sympathy The display of contempt for Indians before British audiences is inconsistent with sympathy in India Opinions such as I have quoted will not Subject peoples are abnormally sensitive to the feeling towards them of their rulers

there is certainly nothing to justify our condemning the general influence of other faiths. It would be impossible to associate the idea of cruelty to animals and the life and teachings of Christ. Yet the chief recreation of the wealthiest and most cultivated Protestant Christian nation is the killing of birds, beasts and fishes, and that of the most devotedly Catholic the torturing of bulls and horses in public arenas.

When we dilate upon the immorality of the 'heathen' do we sufficiently consider the scenes enacted in the streets of our great towns, especially our garrison towns, at night? There is more that the ordinary Indian visitor to Europe is likely to see (say at the Paris Salon) difficult to reconcile with a high standard of morality than anything the ordinary European visitor is likely to see in India. Do we remember that in many of the most professedly Christian nations prostitution is an established system? Do we forget that but for the revelations of two American ladies the regular supply of pleasing prostitutes to British soldiers would still be sanctioned and encouraged by British officers? During a short visit to India I found the cantonment system approved by all 'Christian' officials and condemned by all Hindu and other Indians with whom I conversed concerning it.

We have no reason to suppose that all that is of a lowering tendency in Indian customs and observances is not deprecated by enlightened Hindus and other religionists as all that is bad in our customs and observances is deprecated by enlightened Christians. Let us judge Hinduism and every other ism by its best side, as we desire Christianity should be judged.

Christianity has implanted mutual confidence, homogeneity, devotion to duty, and a high order of intelligence in professedly Christian nations. But perhaps these very characteristics have too often enabled them to set at naught every Christian principle in their dealings with other peoples. It has been reserved for Protestantism and these later times to carry to their extreme theories concerning differences of race and the abiding superiority of some people to others. Practices extenuated formerly are now justified.

Human nature is weak. History proves that in proportion as we are independent of the wants and opinions of others, we incline to neglect if not condemn them. We must counteract the growing tendency to want of sympathy with our Indian fellow subjects. The generation has almost passed away that found them gallant opponents in arms. Passenger, postal, and telegraphic facilities tend to conserve the main interest of British officials in home rather than in the country they ought to serve. Indian public opinion with too many becomes of less and less account. Government in India is not now compelled, as in the days of the Company, periodically to submit itself to the judgment of a superior independent authority.

There are other and even more essentially effective means, apart from respect and courtesy, by which it is in our power to impress every home in India with the reality of Christian principle. However much

I might desire to here obtrude my views upon the subject, it is more in keeping with the scope of this collection, and more respectful to the authors of the various opinions I venture to quote, that their publication in this form should not be used as a vehicle for the dissemination of opinions in which they might not agree. In justice also to these several authorities, readers must be careful not to stretch their views upon Indian politics generally beyond the words set down.

Due regard to space has induced me to confine my selections to views as to general character. The government of 66,000,000 persons by Indians in the Native States, and the record of Indians occupying high office in the Government of British India is sufficient evidence of high administrative ability.

Having made these introductory remarks I shall leave the extracts, which will be continued in alphabetical order in successive numbers of INDIA, to speak for themselves

---



# THE PEOPLE OF INDIA: THEIR MANY MERITS.



**Jervoise A. Baines, C S.I** *Indian Service 1868 to 1895,*  
*for several years Census Commissioner for India*

"Each caste provides for its indigent members in its own way. Widows, where, as in most of the upper classes, they do not re-marry, were maintained in the household of their relatives or connexions, in a humble capacity, it is true, but still they are supported through life. Brahmans are met with offerings wherever they present themselves. Able bodied men are provided with employment, and the decrepit and blind are either kept by subscriptions in kind or sit by the nearest roadside and ask for alms, never in vain. The devotion of the younger members of a family to their elders is proverbial."—*Supplied in MS by Mr. Tulcher, from an essay by Mr. Baines on 'The Conditions and Prospects of Popular Education in India,' appended to a late Census Report*



**William C. Bennett.** *Served in India from 1865, Settlement*  
*Commissioner of Oudh, Member Bengal Legislative Council*

"Writing two centuries before Christ of the Hindus most like those of Oudh in the neighbouring kingdom of Patna, an educated Greek selected as the leading feature in their character, their honesty and integrity in the ordinary relations of life, and paradoxical as it may seem to most English ears, it is probable that this is true of the Hindu village of to-day as it was of the Buddhist court of two thousand years ago. Even among our own servants no one can fail to have been astonished at the absolute safety with which large sums of money may be entrusted to their keeping, when theft would be almost impossible of detection and would secure them comfort for the rest of their

lives In the higher ranks the well-paid and educated office clerks are faithful and trustworthy beyond any other class of men who can be procured for their responsible duties What has been said applies to their relations with foreign masters, for whom they can rarely feel any affection, and who not unfrequently regard them with a suspicion which would be itself enough to make most men dishonest In their relations with their own people the quality is far more conspicuous Trade transactions involving enormous sums are carried through with a want of precaution which we should consider idiotic, but which is justified by the rarity of breaches of faith In a country where writing is an art as common as it is with us, large debts are contracted every day on nothing but the verbal security of the borrower, and if there be occasional repudiation in our courts, the fact that the security is still considered sufficient is ample proof that the debts are honourably acknowledged among the parties themselves In such cases limitation is never thought of, and families who have emerged from poverty will discharge debts contracted by their ancestors a century back, of which no other record exists but an entry in the moneylender's private ledger Their whole social system postulates an exceptional integrity, and would collapse at once if any suspicion of dishonesty attached itself to the decisions of the caste panchayats The point is worth insisting on, as on it depends the whole of their future as a self governing nation, and though much has occurred to impair their character in this respect, it would be unsafe to deny them at any rate the capacity for the first of political virtues This quality may be said to extend to all ranks The remaining merits will be more readily acknowledged but are more partial in their distribution The courage and high sense of honour of the Brahman and the Rajput, the thrift and industry of the Kurmi, are patent to the shallowest observer, and all perhaps may lay claim to a natural aversion to cruelty, a gay, buoyant disposition of mind, and an imagination easily impressed by beauty or humour And it is this class (Chattari) which furnishes all the best examples of the national character It is impossible to think badly of a race who from among a dozen chiefs of a single district, [Gond] could produce in one season of national convulsion two such eminent instances of loyalty and devotion to opposite sides as the present Maharaja of Babrampur and the late Raja Debi Baksh Singh of Gonda—the one who risked his property and his life to save a handful of English friends, and remained their firm protector when it seemed certain that their cause was lost, the other who did not join the standard of national revolt till he had escorted the treasure and the officials of a government he hated to a place of safety, who was the last in the field when fighting was possible, and who, though offered an honourable reception and the whole of his immense estates by his conquerors elected to sacrifice position and wealth and die a starving exile in Nepal rather than desert his defeated Mistress Their fortunes were different, but their chivalrous honour the same"—*Supplied in MS by Mr Lutshi from "The Oudh Gazetteer, published by Authority, 1877"*

Sir George C. M. Birdwood, K.C.I.E. *Late Bombay Medical Staff, Special Assistant in the Revenue, Statistics and Commerce Department, India Office, Royal Commissioner, Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886*

"The idolatry of the Hindus is a sore point with most Englishmen, and Europeans generally. I will not allow myself to here enlarge on this topic, nor is it necessary, as the following anecdote will suffice to indicate my own conclusions on the subject, impressed on me, as they have been by many similar experiences of my life in Bombay. The late Hon Jogonnathjee Sunkersett was a bigoted Hindu, of the most uncompromising temper, but owing to some service I was able to render him in 1857, I enjoyed his entire confidence and there is no man in whom I have ever taken a deeper personal interest or for whom I could possibly have a more affectionate or steadfast regard. We were so intimate, that he would freely admit me to his presence while engaged in private worship with his domestic Brahman, only I sat down on such occasions just beyond the threshold of the door leading from his bedroom—in his Girgaum house—into the room in which he worshipped the ancestors of his family, and the greater deities of the official Brahmanic Pantheon, and seated there opposite me, stripped to his skin, with the images of his gods before him, and the attendant Brahman, and all the utensils of idolatrous worship, he would explain every detail of it to me as it proceeded. Now, the great longing of his heart was that, before he should see death he might be blessed with the birth of a son to his only son Venayekrow Jugonnathjee, familiarly called Rowjee. Years had followed years, but only girls had been born to Rowjee, and the birth of a man child began to appear hopeless. Jugonnathjee Sunkersett himself had visited every shrine in Western India praying for a grandson, and had even extended his pilgrimages to Benares, and I believe to Muttra and Hardwar, for the purpose, and he never saw me without introducing the subject into our conversation. Such was the state of matters when, being on a visit to the hill station of Matheran, and anxious to ascertain the truth of the orgiastic rites that were said to be enacted by the outcast jungle tribes—chiefly cow herds and cutch [extract of *Acacia Catechu*] collectors—of the locality, before the uncouth altar to 'Pisnath' [i.e., Pa ha Natha, 'Pasture Lord'] 'Deo,' in the dark ever green grove of Iron wood trees at 'Danger Point,' on the west side of the hill, just above, and to the left of 'The Waterfall,' I concealed myself behind a rent in the stone wall enclosing the grove. A number of poor, abject creatures had gathered there and were about to kill a scared looking cock, when suddenly, who should come trotting into the gloom of the grove, from the opposite side to where I was, but the Hon Jugonnathjee Sunkersett, followed by a mounted orderly, for he was a member of the Legislative Council of Bombay, and two running peons. I thought at first that he was there from curiosity, and was about to go forward to greet him, but immediately the peons placed themselves at the head of his horse, and he dismounted, and stepped up

before the degraded aboriginal. He was a man, as I have said, of splendid presence, of the Scytho-Aryan type, and there he stood, in the light of a sloping ray of the declining sun, that stole in between the dark trunks of the Iron wood trees, long-robed, and high turbaned, and girded round the loins, a living presentment for the moment of the 'magnificent son of Akbar', but in another instant he was wringing his hands in an agony of prayer, with the burning tears streaming down his handsome, massive, and now deeply scared face, his wan, beseeching eyes looking straight up toward the heavens. Fearing that I was a spectator of what I certainly ought not to witness, I stealthily withdrew from the spot, strolling on leisurely toward theazaar. I had not gone on my way more than a quarter of an hour, when, just before reaching the Clarendon Hotel, I became aware of galloping horses approaching me from behind, and presently heard my name being joyfully shouted after me, and almost before I could turn round, the Honourable Jugonnathjee Sunkersett and his escort were upon me, his face lighted up in the golden gleaming with the most proudly radiant look of gladness. 'Oh, Scotjee,' I said, responsively to his mood, 'you have received good hope of a grandson.' 'Indeed, yes,' he replied, 'it is just what I wanted to tell you, Birdwood.' 'But,' I interpolated, 'what solid ground have you for your assurance?' His answer was, 'Solid ground for assurance? Why Gon himself has told me!' I was astounded by the reply, and could say nothing for awhile—remembering what I had secretly seen—for my emotion, and left him to talk on like a happy child, until by devious paths—but as much as possible, still pressing eastward—we at last arrived at 'Alexander (now called Alexandra) Point.' This point is a little beyond a mile east from 'Danger Point,' and commands the whole of the picturesque vale of the Chouk river, trending away south-westward between the main mass of Matheran and its north-eastern spur, called, from its stony surface, Garbut. The twilight had now passed, in the valley below us, into a purple tint, rising higher and higher to the great grove ['Rau Bagh'] of wide spreading mangoes and towering *Jambools*, lardiest foliage of the woodlands of Western India, and other fine forest trees, hanging upon the east side of the hill, half way down the thread-like track of the old zig zag ghât road to Chouk. The warm purple mist welled up to this level, but above it the umbrageous top of Matheran was flashed over with the clear reflection from the resplendent orange light yet lingering in the west, turning all its enchanted leafage to a rich mystic green, of gem-like illumination. In the advancing night, thus momentarily irradiated with the still enfolded brightness of departing day, the whole mountain and valley seemed filled as with the visible glory of overshadowing deity, and Sunkersett at once became silent before the profoundly solemnising, wondrous scene. Silently he watched the primitive hill-men returning by the precipitous Chouk ghât road to their scattered huts in the rapidly darkening depths of the valley below, each one, as he advanced to the head of the dangerous ascent, bending lowly down, and reverently, towards the sun's far sunken flame —

“Through Ages hymned by Hindu devotee’

“The tumult of his soul was hushed, and at the last, from its depth, as we turned to retrace our steps homeward, he thoughtfully, but in his frequent oracular manner, observed ‘Yes, just as our five fingers go back to one and the same arm, so all religions go back to one and the same God’ Thus closed what was to prove an ever memorable day with him, for, remarkable to relate, with the completion of nine months from that date, a grandson, the deferred hope of all the years of his prime, was born to Jugonnathjee Sunkersett. And then the great hope of his life having been fulfilled, straightway a change came over him. He was a man of strenuous energy, and the most masterful natural capacity, and undisguised ambition and pride. He was not only the leader of the Hindus of Bombay, but after the death of the first Sir Jansetty Jejeebhoy, of the whole Native community. But now he laid aside all worldliness and unobtrusively and determinedly, submitted himself to the great desire for death that seemed to have taken complete possession of him, saying on my once venturing to remonstrate with him for thus yielding himself up to die and, in so saying using almost the very words of the Greek writer ‘It is not difficult Birdwood but easy, for the road is not crooked, but straight, and not up and then down but all downward, and an unfearing man may walk it blindfold. No! he had seen the salvation of God as sought by him and now all he wanted was to depart in peace. Soon afterwards he died, and then a very great burning was made for him. I thought it would have given me a cruel shock. But it was attended with none of the horrors the awful reverberatory furnace, and the repulsive factory like chimney, and all the soulless mechanism of cremation in Europe. Except that milk was used instead of wine the ritual was essentially that described by Homer in the burial of Patroclus and so far from being painful, when it was all over, I looked up into the clear and brilliant heavens above. I was soothed by the reflection that no taint of earthly corruption would ever be associated with the memory of my friend for all that had been mortal of him was now part of the sunshine around and about me, a consideration naturally suggesting the inspiring hope that if human self consciousness was indeed immortal, the freed spirit of Jugonnathjee Sunkersett was already with the ‘Father of Lights’ ‘the Ancient of Days’ It is impossible not to be deeply interested in such men and when you know them, for what they really are not to have the sincerest friendship and admiration for them. As for the idolatry my whole mind was changed toward it after that answer given by Jugonnathjee Sunkersett near the Clarendon Hotel — Solid ground for my assurance? Why God himself has told me! — and thus out of the mouth of a man I had just seen apparently praying to a hideous heap of foully raddled and stinking stones! Henceforward I knew that there were not many gods of human worship but one God only, who was polyonymous [*ὁ εἰς ὧν πολιωνυμὸς ἔστι*] being named according to the variety of the outward condition of things, which are always chang

ing and everywhere different"—"*Representative Men of India*," Sir George Birdwood W H Allen, 1889.



**General John Briggs** *Served in India, retiring in 1835, Resident at Nagpur.*

"I have long since come to the conclusion of the Abbe Raynal in his *History of India* that 'Mankind under similar circumstances in all parts of the globe will act alike' I find among my acquaintances who have long resided in India, that after travelling over Europe they have reason to think more highly of the natives of India every day"—"*Admission of Educated Natives into the Indian Civil Service*," Dadabhai Naoroji, M P Commercial Press, Bombay, 1893



**Major-General Sir O T Burne, K.C.S.I (1879)** *Sometime Military Secretary to the Commander-in Chief in India.*

"Speaking generally, the typical Hindu is quiet, industrious, and tolerant in religious matters unless provoked to excitement. It has been truly said by a distinguished military writer that the natives of India, both as friends and foes, have proved themselves gallant soldiers, not unworthy of being matched with Europeans"—"*Clyde and Strathnairne*' (*Rulers of India Series*) Major-General Sir O T Burne, A C S I, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1891



**Sir George Campbell K C S I.** *Served in India, 1842 to 1875 Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, 1871-1874*

"Practically I should say that the religion of the Hindus is the simplest monotheism. This may more particularly apply to Northern India, where the Mahometans have destroyed the temples, and more impregnated the country with their ideas, but in all dealings with all classes of Natives, in conversation, and appeals to a higher power, I have never found any active or practical belief in particular gods or idols, and under different names, Hindus, Mahometans and Christians all look to and appeal to one and the same God, invisible and all powerful. But as the Hindus claim no recent revelation, moral religion is less active as a guide of their lives than with Christians or Mahometans, and most of their faith is natural religion. They have an undoubted apprehension of a future state of rewards and punishments, but in no distinct form, and their reliance is on good work. They have the feeling of charity to mankind which, perhaps, results from that 'moral sense' which is a part of our nature, and the chief of their good works are practical benevolences to mankind. A Hindu who wishes to lay up

for himself a store of good deeds, founds institutions for feeding the poor, or builds wells and sermins or plants trees to protect travellers from the sun . . . [Discussing the question of honesty] The fact I take it to be that, while there are many more professional thefts in India, there is a much larger proportion of occasional thefts by servants, etc., in England. It is wonderful how seldom servants and others, not thieves by profession, pilfer in India. Child murder, as it involves concealment of the fact, would not be shown by the reports, and the murder of female infants, at one time common among certain tribes in certain parts of the country, is sometimes represented to be very general in our Provinces. But I must say that I doubt the fact. I do not think that it is likely to occur in present prosperous circumstances among large clans in which there is plenty of room for intermarriages without infringing the rule which prohibits the marriage of blood relations. In fact, except among isolated families claiming peculiar rank, girls are very valuable, and if child murder did take place to a large extent, many instances must come to light. If ten such cases be ascertained by the magistrate, we may well believe that ninety are concealed, but if none are found out, I should believe in neither ninety nor nine. I have had to do with a considerable Rajpoot population, and have seen nothing of the kind. I am therefore slow to believe speculative people who go into a village pencil in hand, and, because they fancy that they see more boys than girls, calculate and propound that exactly one half of the female infants of the ordinary agricultural Rajpoots are annually murdered.—“*Modern India*,’ George Campbell, *Bengal C S*, Murray, 1852



Sir G B Clerk, G C S I *Served in or for India*, 1818 to 1876 ,  
*Nominated Governor of Bombay*, 1860 *Evidence before*  
*Select Committee, Commons*, 1863

“Looking at the long experience you have had of Natives what is your opinion of the standard of morality among the best of the native population, those with whom you have come in contact, and in whom you have placed confidence among the higher classes ?”—“I should say that the morality among the higher classes of the Hindus was of a high standard, and among the middling and lower classes remarkably so, there is less of immorality and less of extreme poverty than you would see in many countries in Europe. In all their domestic relations, and their charity to their neighbours, they are superior to what you will find in many countries, it is not so much so perhaps with the Mahometans, but still I should say that there is no striking degree of immorality among them.”—“Is it your opinion that confidence might be placed in the natives for the performance of the duties of many higher offices than they are now employed in in those districts ?”—“Certainly, if allowed salaries sufficient to place them on a respectable footing.”—“You mean that if their allowances were such as to maintain them in the relative

station in which they ought to be, as compared with Europeans, confidence might be placed in their honest and straightforward conduct?"—"Certainly, for official business of most kinds" "Are the decisions of the judges between the lowest class and the Zillah judge looked on as equal to the decisions of the Zillah judge?"—"I have had but little opportunity of comparing them, but I should say that they are. The decisions of all the native judges are considered, I believe, to have fully answered the expectations formed of their capacities for administering justice" "Have you ever taken pains to enquire into the questions which have been raised upon appeal from the decisions of the native judges, and the result of those appeals?"—"I have read their decisions" "Have you formed a judgment upon the subject yourself, as to whether the decisions of the Zillah judges are superior to those of the Native judges?"—"I should not say that they are superior. The decision of the Native judge is as good as that of the European judge"—*Same source as views of General Briggs.*



**Henry J. S. Cotton, C.S.I. Indian Service 1867 to 1899, Member Bengal Legislative Council, 1892, Chief Commissioner, Assam, 1896, Author of various works on India. (Writing in 1885)**

"The superiority of the Natives of the country in administering law and justice to their own people is indeed a fact that cannot be seriously disputed. The intellectual attainments and high moral virtues of Dwarkanath Mitter sufficiently vindicate the competence of Natives to exercise the most responsible functions. He sat for many years upon the bench of the High Court of Judicature in Bengal. Other Native gentlemen might also be mentioned, who before and after him have occupied the same post and acquitted themselves with credit. At the same time the judicial appointments in the lower grades of the service are already filled by Natives, and there is abundant testimony to show that they discharge their duties with integrity and ability"—INDIA, September 8, 1899



**Victor Cousin (1792-1867). Founder of Systematic Eclecticism in Philosophy**

"On the other hand, when we read with attention the poetical and philosophical movements of the East, above all those of India, which are beginning to spread in Europe, we discover there so many truths, and truths so profound, and which make such a contrast with the meanness of the results at which the European genius has sometimes stopped, that we are constrained to bend the knee before that of the East, and to see in this cradle of the human race the native land of the highest philosophy."—*Thoughts on the Past and Future of India,* Manasulharam Suryaram



A. T. Crawford *Indian Civilian, writing in 1892* —

" I am one of those who, with all my Indian experience before me, have had special opportunities in later years of studying police cases of every kind in England, and of hearing what barristers and solicitors say of the civil cases in which they are concerned. The daily journals teem, too, with cases in which false swearing on one side or the other is palpable, and judges inveigh, in vain, from the bench against the prevalence of perjury. Has there ever been a worse case in India than what is known as the 'Hurlbert' case, to say nothing of several more recent instances of perjury in connexion with will suits? Has there ever been more wholesale perjury than in the Tichborne, commonly known as the 'Chamant's' case? or the Piggott part of the *Times* Commission, which combined forgery with false swearing? I have been thrown in contact with the English agricultural—the farmer and the labourer—classes, and find them quite as much, if not more, addicted to lying than my old friend Bhow Patel or Baboo Kunbi in India. The fact is that 'service men' go out to India young, without any experience of their own countrymen, and at first, from the very nature of their duties, seeing only the seamy side of Native character, they become impressed with the belief that those around them have no regard for veracity, a belief so strong that a subsequent better knowledge can hardly eradicate it. Professional men and those connected with mercantile pursuits, on the other hand, similarly ignorant of their own land and also going out in their youth, live in large cities or stations, know nothing or next to nothing of the languages, and have little communication with non-English speaking Natives, and that little is through the interpretation of their clerks. Few, very few, if any of us, get to know anything of the masses of Natives, their habits, their modes of thought, their inner lives. Betwixt us and them 'there is a great gulf fixed,' and we are apt to our self-conceit and ignorance to judge rashly and harshly, and usually fail to perceive that the poor people around us have very many good qualities that should command our respect. Some how or other it has become a settled belief that Natives are habitually liar, and in the courts of law indulge the propensity with the utmost freedom. We do not know how often the Native does not rightly understand his questioner—how very easily he is confused, and unable to say (or misinterpreted to say) what he does not really mean. The imperishable Briton, though of the strictest veracity, can often be shown up to public scorn when in the witness box, to contradict himself and appear bent upon prevarication, he is being examined by his own countryman, in his own language—the Native witness is often in the hands of an examiner who imperfectly understands him, and has to take his evidence at second-hand. Why should we always jump to the conclusion that the Native witness is bent on perjuring himself? Why not make as much allowance for the Native as for the Englishman? We come to be more charitable when we get older and have left the East for good. We find, when it is too late, from what we see of our countrymen and women, that we must often have judged very harshly and uncharitably

in India. It is not a pleasant retrospect"—*Supplied in MS by Mr Talcherkar from "Reminiscences of a Mofussil Policeman," by A. T. Crauford.*



Constance F Gordon Cumming *Author of Works on India and the East, 1886, etc*

"I greatly marvelled at the contemptuous indifference displayed by the great mass of Europeans to all matters relating to the faith (and practice) of the brown multitudes around them, as to a tissue of puerile fables unworthy of the smallest attention. Yet, considering that we are here in the cradle of two of the most widely spread faiths of the world (Brahminism and Buddhism), and that the fundamental truths of both had been thought out by men of this self same race many centuries ere light from the East first dawned on Pagan Britain, it seems strange indeed that any can live in India, and yet give no heed to the present development of the said creeds, and their application to the daily lives of about 700,000,000 of our fellow men in Asia. . . . Hindus, whose marvellous self-denial in the service of their gods does certainly put our self indulgent practice of Christianity to the blush. No one who studies the creed and practice of this race with unbiassed mind, can fail to be struck with their intense earnestness in living up to teaching which, however distorted, has in it rich veins of thought—perverted forms of the very doctrines which we deem most sacred. . . . So too, although we Christians are taught that, 'whether we eat or drink or whatsoever we do, we should do all to the glory of God,' I think it can scarcely be a transgression of charity to judge that comparatively few habitually obey this precept, whereas the most casual observer cannot fail to see that in the daily life of the average Hindu, this is the ruling principle. . . . At present the prominent aspect of Christianity to the Native mind is that of a faith which allows its votaries to eat unclean meat at all times, and do their own will in all things. . . . As attendants they [Hindus] are wonderfully good. Quick, noiseless, detecting in a moment what is wanted, patient and 'answering not again' to an extent that might sometimes shame their masters, who certainly have no more claim to faultlessness than 'the niggers' of whom they think so lightly, for to see an Englishman fly into a passion with a Native, and strike a man who dares not hit him back, is humiliating indeed. If not cowardly, it certainly is horribly derogatory to British dignity, and quite the most painful sight you are likely to witness."—"In the Himalayas and on the Indian Plains," C. F. Gordon Cumming, Chatto and Windus, 1886.



William Digby, C I E. *Political Agent in Indian Service ; Secretary Famine Relief Fund, 1876-78.*

"I only stay to add my stone of testimony to theearn Max Muller raises to the truthful character and commercial honour of the Indian

people generally, and of the merchants in particular. Even in regard to philanthropy England cannot put India to shame. . . What the Indian races were in the times of Akbar they are now. Their capacity is not lessened, their brain power is as great, their skill in administration has not failed, this they show day by day, year in, year out, all that they need is a fair field and liberty for the free play of their faculties, and that their merits, even when recorded should not be suppressed whether accidentally or deliberately. If we have constructed railways and made roads, the Indians of days gone by dug canals and built irrigation works of a magnitude and of a solidity which are alike a marvel to us of to day and a defiance almost of decay. These were 'imperial works and worthy of kings'. There is nothing we have done in India which that country's sons could not do as well, or better, with perhaps one exception and that a very important one, the magnitude of which the writer will not attempt to minimise. . . That is, except when we elect to fight there is peace in the land. . . This done we ought to have stayed our hand. More than this, and all it involves, we ought not to have attempted"—*India for the Indians and for England, William Digby OIE Talbot Brothers, 1885*

'There are not more law abiding, contented and on the whole lovable races under the wide sway of the Queen than the people of India. These good qualities, however, are not developed from the comfort of their surroundings, but exist in spite of misery which might be expected to render goodness impossible. . . The patience of the men and women with whom we have to do is wonderful. During ordinary periods there is far less crime among them than among people similarly situated in any European country. But it is in times of sore distress, when food is five times above its normal price, and not easy to get then, that their patience is truly sublime. Take their conduct during the awful times of 1876 and 1877. They saw their crops perish before their eyes, and did not consider that they must wreak vengeance upon their rulers, or in any way disturb the public peace, they were starving, but not one in a hundred thousand resorted to robbery. The district judge at Trichinopoly (Mr E. Foster Webster) speaking of people whose sense of self respect would not allow them to attend a Government relief camp, said 'The closer you look into matters and the better you know the people, the more you see how fearfully widely spread is the present distress, borne by the poor creatures in dumb resignation to fate, and with scarcely a murmur'. Again as to their kindness towards one another. The famine gave wonderful proof of the depth and sincerity of this quality. We saw it in our own homes, in the privations our servants endured that they might be able to help their friends who had no work, we met with numerous instances in our office where the employees visibly grew thinner and more woe-begone day by day, the higher wages given by employers going to support relatives in greater need than those by whom increased pay was received. One Native member of the Central Famine Committee said to me one day, 'I have thirty five people depending upon me for daily food'. It was a common experience in our Relief

several instances, roused my indignation to a high degree. In fact, from their reports, I see that those gentlemen particularly delight in representing these people under the blackest and most odious colours. With them the Hindus are nothing but barbarians—a people loaded with every kind of vice, without a single spark of virtue. Not only their religion but also their system of civilization, their character, their public and domestic institutions—all their usages and practices—are indiscriminately branded with infamy and held forth to public contempt, and they themselves are abused, reviled, and degraded almost to the level of brutes. Such is, as far as I can judge from their public reports, the view taken of these people by most of the new reformers at present settled among them. But I am happy to know that a quite different view of the subject has been taken by a Warren Hastings, a Bute, a Cornwallis, a Robertson, a Sir William Jones, a Colebrooke, a Hawkins, a Wilkins, and many other enlightened persons who had made close and deep researches on all that relates to the Hindus: had candour enough to acknowledge also their virtues, and to make a just estimate of what was good and what was bad in their institutions. Now it is a subject of regret to see that the opinions and authority of so many enlightened and independent persons are disregarded, to listen to the suspicious accusers and wild theories of men of mediocrity, who have of late undertaken the altogether impracticable task of reforming these nations in their religion, morals and manners. I am also happy that, in my humble sphere and obscure station an experience of thirty years passed in an unrestrained intercourse with these people has taught me a quite different theory, and to view the subject in a much more favourable light. I am happy at the end of my researches to find that, in witnessing among them many disgusting vices I have been able to discover also many eminent virtues. It is true that some of my critics have accused me of being tinctured with Hinduism, and strongly biassed in favour of the Hindus: I care in describing their vices and bad qualities, but the fact is, that if I have anything to reproach myself with in my writings on the subject of the Hindus it is to have been rather too severe in finding fault with them in matters which would perhaps have been a subject of praise to more unbiassed authors. On the other hand, the Hindus are not in want of improvement in the discharge of social duties among themselves. They understand this point as well as, and perhaps better than, Europeans. They might even be said to be rather excessive in this respect in several instances. They will never suffer the needy who has implored their charity to go unassisted. Their hospitality among themselves, it is well known, has no bounds. Even the humble, the distressed pariah, as long as he has a measure of grain in his possession, will cheerfully share his pail of millet with the weary traveller of his caste who may happen to take shelter in his hut, and in all their wants and distresses the Hindus of all castes will readily assist each other more effectually than the European would do in the same circumstances. What the European possesses he keeps for himself. What

the Hindu possesses he is always disposed to share with those who have nothing. In fact, it might be said that a wealthy Hindu considers himself as the depository or the distributor rather than the proprietor of his fortune, so greatly prone is he to acts of charity and benevolence; and it is chiefly from this cause that those frequent revolutions in the fortunes of the Hindus and those frequent passages from extreme opulence to extreme poverty arise. . . . It will perhaps be found that, among an equal number of distressed people, the proportion of determined rogues is greater in Europe than in India"—*Supplied in MS by Mr Talcherkar, from a letter of Abbe Dubois from Seringapatam, December 15, 1820.*

ence, and that those who had been longest in India, and had the completest knowledge of their habits, were those who felt most kindly towards them —“*Native Opinion*,” *Bombay*, August 20, 1899.



Mountstuart Elphinstone, 1795-1829, *Governor of Bombay*,  
1819-27. *Refused Governor-Generalship of India*

“Englishmen in India have less opportunity than might be expected of forming opinions of the Native character. Even in England, few know much of the people beyond their own class, and what they do know they learn from newspapers and publications of a description which does not exist in India. In that country, also, religion and manners put bars to our intimacy with the Natives, and limit the number of transactions as well as the free communication of opinions. We know nothing of the interior of families but by report, and have no share in those numerous occurrences of life in which the annals of character are most exhibited. Missionaries of a different religion, judges, police magistrates, officers of revenue or customs and even diplomatists, do not see the most virtuous portion of a nation nor any portion, unless when influenced by passion, or occupied by some personal interest. What we do see we judge by our own standards. . . . It might be argued in opposition to many unfavourable testimonies, that those who have known the Indians the longest have always the best opinion of them, but this is rather a compliment to human nature than to them, since it is true of every other people. It is more in point that all persons retiring from India think better of the people they have left after comparing them with others, even of the most justly admired nations. . . . Merchants and bankers are generally strict observers of their engagements. If it were otherwise, commerce could not go on where justice is so irregularly administered. . . . The labouring people are industrious and persevering. . . . Their contempt of death is, indeed, an extraordinary concomitant to their timidity when exposed to lesser evils. When his fate is inevitable, the lowest Hindu encounters it with a coolness that would excite admiration in Europe, converses with his friends with cheerfulness, and awaits the approach of death without any diminution of his usual serenity. . . . The villagers are everywhere an inoffensive, amiable people, affectionate to their families, kind to their neighbours, and, towards all but the Government, honest and sincere. . . . The townspeople are of a more mixed character, but they are quiet and orderly, seldom disturbing the public peace by tumults, or by their own private broils. On the whole, if we except those connected with the Government, they will bear a fair comparison with the people of towns in England. Their advantages in religion and government give a clear superiority to our middle classes, and even among the labouring class, there are many to whom no parallel could be found in any rank in India; but, on the other hand, there is no set of people among the Hindus so depraved as the dregs of our great towns, and

the swarms of persons who live by fraud—sharpers, imposters, and adventurers of all descriptions, from those who mix with the higher orders down to those who prey on the common people—are almost unknown in India. Some of the most conspicuous of the crimes in India exceed those of all other countries in atrocity. The horror excited by such enormities leads us at first to imagine peculiar depravity in the country where they occur, but a further enquiry removes that impression. Including Thugs and Dacoits, the mass of crime in India is less than in England. Thugs are almost a separate nation, and Dacoits are desperate ruffians who enter into permanent gangs and devote their lives to rapine, but the remaining part of the population is little given to such passions as destroy. Murders are oftener from jealousy, or some such motive, than from gain, and theft is confined to particular classes, so that there is little uneasiness regarding property. Europeans sleep with every door in the house open, and their property scattered about as it lay in the daytime, and seldom have to complain of loss, even with so numerous a body of servants as fills every private house, it is no small proof of habitual confidence, to see scarcely anything locked up.

The natives of India are often accused of wanting gratitude, but it does not appear that those who make the charge have done much to inspire such a sentiment. Their freedom from gross debauchery is the point in which the Hindus appear to most advantage. It can scarcely be expected from their climate and its concomitants that they should be less licentious than other nations, but if we compare them with our own, the absence of drunkenness and of immodesty in their own vices, will leave the superiority in purity of manners on the side least flattering to our self-esteem. Their indifference to the grossest terms in conversation appears inconsistent with this praise, but it has been well explained as arising from that simplicity which conceives that whatever can exist without blame may be named without offence, and this view is confirmed by the decorum of their behaviour in other respects.

The cleanliness of the Hindus in their persons is proverbial. Hindu children are much more quick and intelligent than European ones. The capacity of lads of twelve and fourteen is often surprising, and not less so is the manner in which their feelings become blunted after the age of puberty. But at all ages they are very intelligent and this strikes us in it in the lower classes, who in propriety of demeanour and command of language, are far less different from their superiors than with us.—“*History of India*,” Hon Mountstuart Elphinstone Murray, 1866



Dr Fairbairn *Haskell Lecturer to India, 1898*

“Everywhere touched by the genial courtesy and intellectual quietness of the Hindus. The grace and kindness and courtesy and patience with which they would bear even what they must have either disliked or greatly dissented from made them signally attractive, and gave them a charm which one would need to feel long before being able

to thoroughly appreciate One thing is certain—that the Hindu mind will be influenced by no one who is out of sympathy with it' — *India*,"  
May 26, 1899



H Fielding *British Official in Burma during the War  
and since (Writing in 1898)*

[Burma technically is not India, but as, in the minds of most persons,  
it is included therein, the following is given.]

"I have been trying to see into the soul of this people [the Burmese], whom I love so well, and nothing has struck me more than the way they regard crime and punishment, nothing has seemed to me more worthy of note than their ideas of the meaning and end of punishment, of its scope and its limits. We purposely make punishment degrading, they think it should be elevating, that in its purifying power lies its sole use and justification. We believe in tearing a soul's garment, they think it ought to be washed. With us when we have made a little money we keep it to be a nest-egg to make more from. Not so a Burman, he will spend it. And after his own little wants are satisfied



**Colonel P. T. French.** *Thirty years' service in India, Resident at Buroda; Chairman, Bombay, Baroda and C. I. Railway Co. (Writing in 1868)*

"I have been associated with none of your countrymen who are what I presume you mean by the expression 'educated Natives,' and, therefore, can give no opinion of them in the manner-described, from personal knowledge. But I must add I have always heard them highly spoken of, and at the same time—while reminding you of being always an humble follower of yours in endeavouring to afford to the people of India the best education that could be—I was quite satisfied with the Natives as I found them in integrity and efficiency, in the various offices I have held during nearly thirty years' service in India, though they were not what you call educated. I know not your object in now writing to me but be it what it may I only wish I could express myself as I feel regarding very many natives of India I have served Government with, their integrity, zeal and efficiency"—*"Admission of Educated Natives into the Indian Civil Service," Dadabhai Naoroji, M P, Commercial Press Bombay, 1893*



**Viscount Gough, F. M.,** *Served in India, 1837-1849, (Writing of the Sikhs after Sobraon)*

Policy prevented my publicly recording my sentiments of the splendid gallantry of a fallen foe, and I declare, were it not from a conviction that my country's good required the sacrifice, I could have wept to have witnessed the fearful slaughter of so devoted a body'—*"The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars" General Sir C. Gough and Arthur D. Innes, M A, Innes and Co, 1897.*



**Sir Lepel H. Griffin, K C S I.** *Bengal Civil Service, 1861 to 1889 Chairman of Council of East India Association from 1894*

"Poor, simple, honest hearts! they did not know that, judged by any truthful standard, the people of India were on a far higher level of morality than Englishmen, that they were industrious, sober, chaste, and religious, that a drunken man was rare, unless he were an Englishman, and that a drunken woman was unknown."—*Supplied in MS by Mr Talcholar*



**Count Angelo de Gubernatis** *Italian Orientalist, Professor of Sanskrit, Rome, 1891.*

"I am not aware whether special instructions regarding their bearing towards the Natives are given to military and civil servants previous to their leaving England for India. To judge from their behaviour on their arrival in Bombay, one could almost believe that they

were instructed to act as if the following was their creed 'India does not belong to the Indians but to the English, the Indians are a savage and ignorant nation, who can only be ruled by the whip' [After describing incidents which suggested these remarks he observes] Why does not the English Government prevent these objectionable practices by inculcating better ideas of discipline on the youths destined for service in India? Would it not be wise before they leave England, when too many of them are entirely ignorant of India or have very incorrect notions about it, to warn these young candidates for civil and military careers that they are not going into a savage and barbarous country, but to a country famous for its antiquity and its civilisation, and still more for its institutions, and among whose inhabitants are good and intelligent men, deserving to be governed with gentleness and consideration?"—*Supplied in MS by Mr Talcherkar, from "Travels in India," quoted in "Indian Spectator," November 20, 1871.*



Warren Hastings    *Served in India, 1750 to 1764, 1769  
to 1781, Governor-General of India*

"Great pains have been taken to inculcate into the public mind an opinion that the native Indians are in a state of complete moral turpitude, and live in the constant and unrestrained commission of every vice and crime that can disgrace human nature. I affirm by the oath that I have taken, that this description of them is untrue and wholly unfounded. What I have to add must be taken as my belief, but a belief impressed by a longer and more intimate acquaintance with the people than has fallen to the lot of many of my countrymen. [The Hindus] are gentle, benevolent, more susceptible of gratitude for kindness shown them, than prompted to vengeance for wrongs inflicted, and as exempt from the worst properties of human passion as any people upon the face of the earth, they are faithful and affectionate in service, and submissive to legal authority, they are superstitious it is true, but they do not think ill of us for not thinking as they do. Gross as the modes of their worship are, the precepts of their religion are wonderfully fitted to promote the best ends of society, its peace and good order, and even from their theology arguments may be drawn to illustrate and support the most refined mysteries of our own."—*Hindus & Debates* "April 5, 1813.



children, of tempers almost uniformly gentle and patient, and more easily affected by kindness and attention to their wants and feelings than almost any men whom I have met with."—"India for the Indians and for England," William Digby, C.I.E., Talbot Brothers, 1885.



A. O. Hume, C B. *Served in India, 1849 to 1881, C B. for services through the Mutiny.*

"The fact is—and this is what I, who claim to have had better opportunities of forming a correct opinion than most men now living, desire to urge—there is no such radical difference between Indians and Britons as it too generally flatters these latter to suppose. The colour of the skins differs, and the ways and methods of thought of the two races, both descended from the same ancestral stock, have also come under the pressure of different environments to differ during the lapse of long ages, but at the bottom their hearts are much the same. Each race exhibits in a greater degree of development, virtues and vices, which are less prominent in the other, but if both races be judged impartially, and all *pros* and *cons* be fairly set down on both sides, there is very little ground for giving the preference to either. If you compare the highest and best of our Indians with the ordinary run of the rabble in England, these latter seem little better than monkeys beside grand men. If you compare the picked Englishmen we often get in India, trained and elevated by prolonged altruistic labours, and sobered and strengthened by weighty responsibilities, with the rabble of India the former shine out like gods amongst common mortals. But if you fairly compare the best of both, though each class will exhibit excellencies and defects less noticeable in the other, neither can as a whole be justly said to be better or worse than the other. No doubt amongst India's 250 000 000 there are too many of whom no good report can be made, and these being the men who chiefly fawn upon and strive to curry favour with Europeans, are those by whom these latter mostly gauge the national character; but, may I ask is there any lack of similar ne'er do wells even among the 30,000 of Britons? The whole misconception arises from the habit Englishmen in India have acquired of regarding only the blackest side of the Indian and the brightest side of the English character and from their theories as to the capacities of the two races being based on a consideration of the worst specimens of the one and the best specimens of the other."—*Examination of Mr A O Hume, C B by the Public Service Commission, Calcutta, March 1, 1887, Central Press, Calcutta, 1887*



Sir William W. Hunter, KCSI, CIE *In Indian Service 1862 1887, Author of many standard Works on India*

"But the noblest survivals of Buddhism in India are to be found, not among any peculiar body, but in the religion of the whole Hindu

people ; in that principle of the brotherhood of man, with the reassertion of which each new revival of Hinduism starts, in the asylum which the great Hindu sect of Vaishnavs affords to women who have fallen victims to caste rules, and to the widow or the outcast, in that gentleness and charity to all men, which take the place of a poor-law in India and give a high significance to the half satirical epithet of the 'mild' Hindu. The highly cultivated Brahman is a pure theist ; the less cultivated worships the Divinity under some chosen form, his *ishta-devata*. The ordinary Brahman, especially in the South, takes as his "chosen deity" Siva in his deep philosophical aspects as the fountain of being and of reproduction, the symbol of death deprived of its terrors and welcomed as the entrance into new forms of life. The phallic *linga* serves him as an emblem of the unseen God. The middle classes and the trading community adore some incarnation of Vishnu. The low-castes propitiate Siva the Destroyer, or one of his female manifestations, such as the dread Kali. But almost every Hindu of education feels that his outward object of homage is merely his *ishta-devata* or a 'chosen' form under which to adore the Supreme Deity, PARAM ESHWARA"—"*Brief History of the Indian People*," Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Clarendon Press, 1893

trial was so impressed with the conviction that a Hindu father could not commit such a crime that, at his own expense, he engaged counsel to appear when the sentence came up for confirmation in the High Court. When the evidence was closely looked into, it appeared that the wound which was supposed to have caused the death of the child was inflicted after death, and accordingly the High Court ordered a new trial, and the man's innocence was established. The solicitor's belief in the gigantic improbability of a Hindu killing his own child was justified. But in England there is a widespread belief that large numbers of children were destroyed by their parents in order to gain a paltry insurance money, and many persons are anxious for that reason to put a stop to child insurance. Again, we have a society for the prevention of cruelty to children, and it has much more work to do than it can overtake.

The third peril to our Indian Empire arises from a cause of which Englishmen are little conscious, and in that lies the danger—namely, an overbearing manner towards the people of India, especially towards persons in the higher rank. It is difficult to exaggerate the sensitiveness of Indians to outward demeanour, or the immense mischief which a certain class of our Indian rulers do intentionally and for the most part unconsciously. I am far from suggesting that every competition wallah should be taught to observe that dropping down deadness of manner which Sidney Smith says is a proper thing for a curate in the presence of a bishop, but there is surely a happy mean between servility and rudeness. It is not too much to say that many Englishmen do as much as in them lies to make our Government hateful. The Government might do much to effect an improvement. Too often even in the worst cases it is content with an empty censure. More than that is required. If every Civil Servant were made to feel that his prospects of professional advancement would be seriously retarded, or even jeopardised by a too liberal indulgence in the luxury of an offensive and overbearing manner, a great improvement would rapidly take place. No people can like subjection to a foreign power and it is true policy and wisdom for the British governor to make the yoke as light and easy as possible. The difficulties in our way are great enough in all conscience without increasing them by habitual indulgence in a spirit of unrestrained rudeness. Too many of our Civil Servants seem unable to understand that they may be firm and strong without being insolent. This may seem a small matter—faults of manner are easily pardoned by those who indulge in them—but there can be no question that a great part of our difficulties would be removed if every Indian gentleman were treated in India as he is always treated in England.—*Supplied in MS by Mr Talcherkar from "India and Great Britain, by W A Hunter LL D, M P London 1894*

**General G Le Grand Jacob** *Distinguished Service in India. (Writing in 1868)*

"There are nearly two hundred millions of human beings in India. Of course, the great mass have no iden beyond filling their bellies as they say, but there are thousands and hundreds of thousands of deep-thinking, far-sighted men, in addition to whom there is all the rising generation, many of them quite equal in intellectual ability and moral worth to any English gentleman. I have the pleasure of calling several such men my personal friends, with whom I correspond, and I have very few English friends superior to them in attainments or character. This class is rapidly rising all over India in thousands—men who have reflected and reasoned, and have every year more and more influence over their countrymen. During the last thirty years that I have been at the head of a province or provinces, or a political officer at a foreign court, I have made it a rule to select men for employ under me from the different colleges and schools of the Presidency from Ahmedabad in the north to Ratnagiri and Sawunt-waree in the south, both Mahomedan and Hindu, and there are numbers who have been so selected who are now filling high and responsible appointments in the different parts of Western India. The accounts that have reached me of them since my return to England bear testimony of their usefulness and trustworthiness. In all my selections (which, however, were made with care) only one may be said to have failed and he more from the caprice and faults of others than from his own. I certainly should not have expected so large a proportion of good men and true even from the educated classes of my own country."—*Same source as views of Colonel P 1 French*

---

**George W. Johnson** *Advocate of the Supreme Court at Calcutta (Writing in 1843)*

"Those who judge most harshly of the Native character—who condemn the Hindus as monsters of vice without a redeeming quality—are those who having spent their Indian days in the busy courts of law, or in the still more busy commercial establishments of Calcutta form their opinions from an exclusive consideration of the perjury which is rife in the one and the chicanery and cheating among the petty merchants with whom they come in contact in the other. To estimate the Native character from these is about as just and logical as it would be to take as criteria whence to judge of Englishmen the well known men of straw about our London law courts and the petty chapmen and dealers of its Rag Fair. There were seasons of annoyance and pique when, suffering from the perjury and overreaching just mentioned, I condemned the Natives *en masse*, but in periods of less excitement and now viewing them calmly I gladly record my conviction that the national character has much less of evil in it arising from depravity of heart than from the

mere defect of education . . . . As instances of attachment to their relatives in particular case need be cited, for the whole of their domestic system of undivided families, founded as it is on the Hindu law, has rendered them superior to every nation in the world in their admission and maintenance of the ties of kindred—it has become a part of their very nature. Of their public spirit, or love of honourable fame—I care not on which of these good principles the acts are founded—too many instances have occurred of late for the prevalence of such actuating motives to be doubted—instances occurring, not merely in the cases of families of higher rank and hereditarily accustomed to liberal expenditure, but in those who have known the difficulty of gaining a wealthy independence—men who have had the glorious satisfaction of creating their own fortunes. Witness the examples of Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore and Muttylool Seal—the former the founder of the Blind Asylum for Natives and the munificent patron of every charitable association in Calcutta, and the latter the offerer of a dowry of one thousand rupees to the first Hindu widow who shall have the courage to break through her nation's ancient prejudice and shall remarry. Such instances of munificent liberality are not confined to the metropolises of British India or to other places where the incense of praise from the English, whose commendation is eagerly sought, can have been the desired reward. Of this we have sufficient instances in the account published annually of the monies expended by Natives in the establishment of works of public utility"—*Supplied in MS by Mr Venkannah from 'The Stranger in India,' by George W Johnson, 2 vols, Bohn, 1843*



J Seymour Keay, M.P. *Banker in India and India Agent,*  
(Writing in 1883)

"It cannot be too well understood that our position in India has never been in any degree that of civilisation bringing civilisation to savage races. When we landed in India we found there a hoary civilisation, which during the progress of thousands of years had fitted itself into the character and adjusted itself to the wants of highly intellectual races. The civilisation was not perfunctory, but universal and all pervading—furnishing the country not only with political systems, but with social and domestic institutions of the most ramified description. The beneficent nature of these institutions as a whole may be judged of from their effects on the character of the Hindu race. Perhaps there are no other people in the world who show so much in their characters the advantageous effects of their own civilisation. They are shrewd in business, acute in reasoning, thrifty, religious, sober, charitable, obedient to parents, reverential to old age, amiable, law abiding, compassionate towards the helpless and patient under suffering"—*Supplied by Mr. Talcherkar, from "Nineteenth Century," July, 1883*

James Kerr *Late Principal of the Hindu College, Calcutta.*

(Writing in 1865)

"Some severe judges deny to the Natives the possession of any of the more humane and kindly virtues. It has been said, for example, that they are totally devoid of gratitude. Ward the missionary, holds this opinion, and clenches his argument by declaiming that they have no word even to express the idea. The following case was lately reported in the public prints. A European was prosecuted in the Court of Requests by his Native syce for wages due. It came out in evidence that the syce had been duly paid. The master, in open court, expressed his surprise at the syce's ingratitude, upon which the presiding judge is reported to have said, 'You cannot sir, have been long in India, or you would not be surprised of the ingratitude of Native servants. Never expect gratitude from them. If you could feed them with diamonds, they would still be ungrateful.' I am by no means satisfied that these views afford a true representation of Native character. Many Europeans who have resided in India could tell a different tale. Native servants in the families of Europeans are often very attentive to their master or mistress in times of sickness. There is a striking instance recorded in the Memoirs of Swartz of the affectionate gratitude of the Natives, when the proper means are taken to call it forth. The aged missionary had been dangerously ill. An eye witness writing to the Society at home, states that when shortly after his recovery, he went again on Christmas day to the church, 'an universal joy diffused itself all over the congregation. They ran up to him, everyone wanted to be the first to testify his joy and gratitude. He could scarcely make his way through the crowd. And yet it is said that the Natives are destitute of gratitude!' No, they are not destitute of this heavenly spark. I have myself witnessed a scene similar to the above. Some years ago there was taken from amongst us a man bearing a great resemblance to Swartz in simplicity of character and in love for the Natives. I owe much beneath him in devotional feeling and religious experience. This was David Hare, a name dear to the Natives of Calcutta. After realising a considerable fortune he retired from business while still in the prime of life, and devoted himself with almost unexampled zeal to the cause of Native education. In 1842 he was suddenly cut off in the midst of his usefulness. The Natives loved him as a father, and mourned his loss with the most sincere sorrow. I have often, since his death, seen them speak of him with tears in their eyes. It is said that the Natives have no word in their language to express the idea of gratitude. But such is not the case. Setting aside particular phrases which might be adduced from the Indian languages, and which are equal to 'thank you,' have not the Natives other modes of expressing their gratitude? Do they not raise their joined hands to their head, and in this way express their thanks? Besides, would not the absence of gratitude imply that the Hindus have no sense of religion? While it is well known that, in their own way, they are perhaps the



most religious people in the world . . . [After referring to the now extinct practice of suttee] Even if it were true that in this and some other respects that the Hindus were far more guilty than I believe them to be, I would still affirm, notwithstanding such exceptional cases, that they are a humane people. The phrase 'the mild Hindu' is no unmeaning sound. In their ordinary treatment of their relations they are exemplary in the highest degree. This kindness extends beyond the family circle to members of the same caste, to whom they are kind and charitable. Alms are given to the poor without distinction of caste. On great occasions you may see the halt and the maimed come trooping in from all the villages round to receive the expected alms. Often and often I see a score or two of naked beggars, including the halt and the blind, each with a wooden dish in his hand, before a rich man's door, waiting to receive a handful of rice, and they do not wait in vain."—*Supplied in MS by Mr Venkannah, from "Domestic Life, Character, and Customs of the Natives of India," James Kerr, W H Allen, 1865*



William Knighton. (*Writing in 1881*)

"Relatives do not shrink from holding out a helping hand to the poor struggler well nigh overcome by the waves of adversity. Nor are complaints made if they are put to inconvenience thereby. They will sacrifice their own comfort, they will voluntarily retrench in their own expenditure, that the needy members of their household may not want. They feel a satisfaction in administering to the wants of their brethren, and this satisfaction is founded upon social and religious feelings of duty. In truth, 'blood is thicker than water' in a most emphatic sense with Hindus, and though given to the exercise of indiscriminate charity, especially on particular occasions charity with them begins at home."—*Supplied in MS by Mr Talcherkar, from "Fortnightly Review," June, 1881*



Rev James Long *Resident Missionary, C M. S.,*  
*Twenty five years in Bengal. Died 1887.*

"What changes have been rung on what is called the want of natural affection, the ingratitude, of the natives of India, and it has been said they have not a word in their language to express gratitude. But proverbs tell a different tale, they show that the gratitude or the memory of the heart pulsates in the Oriental as well as in the Western. A grateful person is named 'bandhi' or 'kritagya' i.e., who knows what is done, an ungrateful one is 'nimakharam,' one who destroys his salt. As the Bengali proverb says —

"'Whose food he eats, his praises he sings,  
 Whose salt he eats, his qualities he respects.'

There is nothing the European in the East is more apt to form a false estimate of, with regard to the Natives, than in relation to the intelligence and moral qualities of the common people, especially those so-called dumb animals the "rayyets" and the so-called enslaved women. Because the lower classes are not deep in book-lore, they are supposed to be as dull as ditchwater, it is true they are not "books in breeches," they have not book-craw, but they have a strong under-current of information derived from observation, popular tradition, and conversation illustrated by proverbs. Their management of proverbs and keen observation of the phenomena of nature show them to be a people of natural acuteness, who read through a man's character very soon. Many pleasant hours have I spent in Bengal among the rayyets by the side of a tank or under the palm tree's shade, talking on what was to them the cheerful topics of plants and proverbs and in hearing their racy remarks. I was often reminded in a mango grove of Bacon's aphorism, 'The genius, spirit, and wit of a nation are discovered in its proverbs'. This investigation of proverbs gives a more genial view of the common people. It is too much the practice of Europeans in the East to call Natives 'niggers' or 'black fellows'. They see only their dark side and rank them as barbarians, though they themselves would find it very difficult to give an accurate definition of civilisation. Matters, however, are greatly improved since Colebrooke wrote the following words: 'Never mixing with the Natives a European is ignorant of their real character, which he therefore despises. When they meet it is with fear on one side and arrogance on the other. Considered as a race of inferior beings by the appellation of black fellows, their feelings are sported with and their sufferings meet no more compassion than those of a dog or monkey'—*Supplied in MS by Mr Venkiah*

Lieut.-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B. *Served in India,*  
1763-1812, 1817-22, 1827-30; *Governor of Bombay, 1827-30.*

"It is, in my opinion, to the habits arising out of former oppression, and to the want of a full knowledge of the language in those with whom they communicate, that we must refer most of those general and indiscriminate accusations against our Indian subjects for falsehood as a national vice. I have hardly ever known where a person did understand the language, or where a calm communication was made to a native of India through a well-informed and trustworthy medium, that the result did not prove that what had first been stated as falsehood had either proceeded from fear or from misapprehension. I by no means wish to state that our Indian subjects are more free from this vice than any other nations that occupy a nearly equal condition in society, but I am positive that they are not more addicted to it"—*"Hansard's Debates," April 14, 1813*

"Almost all who from knowledge and experience, have been capable of forming any judgment upon the question are agreed that our power in India rests on the general opinion of the Natives of our comparative superiority in good faith, wisdom, and strength to their own rulers. This important impression will be improved by the consideration we show to their habits, institutions, and religion, by the moderation, temper, and kindness with which we conduct ourselves to them—it will be injured by every act that offends their belief or superstition, that shows disregard or neglect of individuals or communities, or that evinces our having, with the arrogance of conquerors, forgotten those maxims by which this great empire has been established, and by which alone it can be preserved.

I can recollect, and I do it with shame, the period when I thought I was very superior to those with whom my duty made me associate, but as my knowledge of them and of myself improved, the distance between us gradually lessened. I have seen and heard much of our boasted advantages over them, but cannot think that, if all the ranks of the different communities of Europe and India are comparatively viewed there is just reason for any very arrogant feeling on the part of the inhabitants of the former, nor can I join in that common place opinion which condemns in a sweeping way the Natives of this country as men taking the best of them not only unworthy of trust and devoid of principle, but of too limited intelligence and reach of thought to allow of Europeans with large and liberal minds and education having rational or satisfactory intercourse with them."

*Supplied in MS. by Mr Tulcherlar*

---

Rev. Thomas Maurice (1754-1825) *Assistant Librarian,*  
*British Museum, Author of Various Works on India.*

"If, however, they are sometimes hurried away by this destructive passion [avarice] and by the sting of jealousy, the result of dis-

proportionate marriages, into extremes which militate against that mild cast of character by which they are in general distinguished, the Hindus have a thousand excellent qualities to counterbalance the defect. They are not less ardent in the love of their country than zealous in their attachment to the institutions of their forefathers. In domestic life they are tender and affectionate, and in their morals, for the most part, unsullied"—*"History of Hindustan," Thomas Maurice, 2 vols, 4to, 1802 10.*

**Graeme Mercer.** *Twenty five years in Indian Service.*  
(Evidence in 1813)

"If called upon for a general characteristic of the Natives of that Empire [India] I would say that they are mild in their dispositions, polished in their general manners, in their domestic relations kind and affectionate, submissive to authority, and peculiarly attached to their religious tenets and to the observance of the rites and ceremonies prescribed by these tenets."—*Hansard's Debates*, April 8, 1813

**F H S Merewether** *Reuter's Special Famine*  
*Commissioner, 1898*

"My fellow Anglo Indians, we growl and groan about our servants out there, and never have a good word for them, but it is only when we come back to England that we recognise the merits, and long for the long suffering, ubiquitous and ever-ready bearer, boy, Khan-sammah, or bootlair, who smoothes the crumpled rose-leaf for his beloved master. We talk in theory of the neat handed Phyllis and the trim Chloe, but give me a really good Portuguese servant or an old fashioned Native bearer. He is noiseless, punctual, attentive, and above all, if you treat him properly, looks upon his master as a god. [In a famine district] The greater part of the women were quite naked, except for a rag round the loins, and were brought so low that they had lost all sense of the innate modesty which is so strong a characteristic of the Native women in India'—*Famine Districts of India*," F H S Merewether. Innes and Co, 1898

**Sir R Montgomery, G C S I** *Served in or for India,*  
*1828 to 1865, Lieut Governor of Punjab, 1859-1865*

"I have not had any experience of the educated natives of India. I conclude you mean those who have received a European education at the Presidency towns. But I have been associated for years with Natives who have risen to positions of trust under the Government in the North Western Provinces and in the Punjab, and I have a very high opinion of their efficiency and integrity. I like to see such a class brought more and more into the Government—men who have proved themselves to be good servants of Government"—*Admission of Educated Natives into the Indian Civil Service*, Dadabhai Naoroji, M P, Commercial Press, Bombay, 1893

**Michael G. Mulhall, F R S S.** *Statistics (1899).*

Prison population per 100,000 of inhabitants

Several European States	..	...	100 to 230
England and Wales	...	..	90
India	...	...	38

—*"Dictionary of Statistics," Michael G. Mulhall, F R S S, Routledge and Sons, 1899.*

**Colonel Thomas Munro.** *Thirty-two years' service in India.*

(*Evidence in 1813.*)

"I do not exactly understand what is meant by the civilisation of the Hindus. In the higher branches of science, in the knowledge of the theory and practice of good government and in an education which, by banishing prejudice and superstition opens the mind to receive instruction of every kind from every quarter, they are much inferior to Europeans, but if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience or luxury, schools established in every village, for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, the general practice of hospitality and charity among each other, and above all a treatment of the female sex full of confidence respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe, and if civilisation is to become an article of trade between the two countries I am convinced that this country [England] will gain by the import cargo — '*Hansard's Debates*' April 12, 1813



**Earl Northbrook.** *Viceroy of India, 1872-1876.*

"I know from experience that the people of India are industrious, orderly, patient in suffering, affectionate to their relations—supporting them in distress to the utmost of their means (there is no Poor Law in India)—and grateful to their rulers for help in time of trouble — '*Native Opinion*,' Bombay, August 20, 1899



**Sir Henry Ricketts.** *Served in or for India 1821 to 1860, Member Viceroy's Council*

'You speak approvingly of the settlements of Cuttack and Chittagong. They were useful works. They have now stood the test of years, and the soundness of the proceedings is more than admitted—it is proved by the condition of the two Provinces and the temper of the inhabitants. But those works were not accomplished, and never could have been accomplished without the assistance of Native officers, without their intelligence, their industry, and their honesty. I emphatically repeat that last word—their honesty. The experience of others may differ from my experience, but wherever I hear of failure in the employment of Native agency I cannot help surmising that there must have been some mistake in the management, for I believe that, throughout my long experience, the more I have trusted Native officers the more faith-

ful they have been found. I do not say that I have never been disappointed, but I hope I have avoided the too common mistake of doubting the many because a few failed."—*"Admission of Educated Natives into the Indian Civil Service," Dadabhai Naoroji, M P, Bombay, 1893.*



**Marquis of Ripon, K.G. Viceroy of India, 1880 to 1884.**

"There is, I fear, much in the conditions of modern life which tends to separate and keep apart the European and Native in this country [India] somewhat more than was the case in former days. The rapidity of communication, the weekly mails, the frequent furlongs, in spite of their numerous advantages, all tend to a certain extent in that direction, and therefore it is a great satisfaction to feel that there are other circumstances connected with our time which may counteract the evil; and among them we may count that greater acquaintance which we possess in the present day with the history, the art, and the jurisprudence of the past, which ought to help us to know better, to appreciate more highly, the native civilisation of India—to feel how ignorant is the inclination to disparage it, and that it is upon the ancient foundations of that civilisation alone that we can hope to erect firm and enduring the superstructure of that wider and higher life which it should be the great aim of our Government to foster and advance. . . . We are here in the midst of ancient peoples, possessed of civilisation, of literature, of art of their own, and our business is not to try and force them to regret their past, to forget all that is characteristic in their history and their traditions, and to convert themselves into had imitations of modern Englishmen; but to place without stint, at their disposal, all the riches of Western science and Western culture, that they may blend them in one harmonious union with the treasures of their own Oriental learning . . . [British] power and influence rest upon the conviction of our good faith more than upon any other foundation—aye, more than upon the valour of our soldiers and the reputation of our arms. I have heard to day with no little surprise a very different argument. The Hon Mr Thomas, in a speech in which he did his utmost to stir up the bitterness of a controversy which was approaching a settlement, and to fan again the dying embers of race animosity, has asked—was there ever a nation which retained her supremacy by the righteousness of her laws? I have read in a book, the authority of which the Hon Mr Thomas will admit, that righteousness exalteth a nation, and my study of history has led me to the conclusion that it is not by the force of her arms or by the might of her soldiery that a great empire is permanently maintained, but that it is by the righteousness of her laws, by her respect for the principle of justice"—*"Speeches of the Marquis of Ripon in India, 2 vols., Government Printer, Calcutta, 1883-1884.*

Sir Thomas Roe, *Ambassador to India, 1614 to 1619.*

"And here I shall insert another most needful particular to my present purpose, which deserves a most high commendation to be given unto that people [of India] in general, how poor and mean soever they be, and that is, the great exemplary care they manifest in their piety to their *parents*, that notwithstanding they serve for very little (as I observed before) but five shillings a moon for their whole livelihood and subsistence, yet, if their parents be in want, they will impart at least half of that little towards their necessities choosing rather to want themselves, than that their parents should suffer need . . . They are a very industrious people, very diligent in all the works of their particular callings, believing that bread is sweetest and most savory which is gained by sweat. . . . These are a people who are not afraid of a lion in the way of a lion in the streets, as the slothful man is, Prov. xxvi, 13, but they lay hold on the present time, the opportunity, to set upon their businesses which they are to do to day, they being very laborious in their several employments, and very square and exact to make good all their engagements. Which appears much in their justness manifested unto those that trade with them . . . Oh, what a sad thing is it for Christians to come short of Indians, even in moralities, come short of those, who, themselves believe, to come short of Heaven"—*A Relation of Sir Thomas Roe's Voyage in the East Indies, appended to "The Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle, a Noble Roman," 1665*



## THE PEOPLE OF INDIA

as those of an English day labourer. Yet he had a free night school for boys, and his wife, I am almost sure (indeed I thought I was sure till I came to write it)—had a similar school for poor girls. He was poor. He was in all respects a gentleman. [Speaking of Dr. Sircar]

Describing Dr. Sircar's house, my friend said it was like a large hospital, filled with free patients, and he asked me, in that merry way which some of you may know, if we could match that in England. Well, we have some large hearted benevolence in England. We shall not deny that. Still there is something in Dr Sircar's work which in many respects is exceptional. Before the young Indian students now in England were born, this virtuous, learned and enlightened man was labouring to establish in Bengal a great school of science and medicine, while at the same time he was doing for the poor such service as comes of a kind heart and a willing mind, but comes not to too great an extent in any land, in any one generation. Modestly, quietly—and without, I venture to say, even a comprehension of the *Me-and-I* philosophy—Dr Sircar works his way. He might have been rich. I am sure that his money goes as fast as it comes, that his noble idea may live, that he may heal the broken hearted, and bless the poor. Gentlemen, [Indian students] I know no better example to hold up to you in view of your return to India—"Communicated by Mrs Routledge, chiefly from a Lecture to Indian students delivered in April 1891

[Is not this the Dr. Sircar who was killed in May, 1898, by the utterly unprovoked assault of British soldiers?]



William H Russell, LL.D. *War Correspondent and Author*  
of "*Diary in India*" and other works, *Indian War*  
Medallist, 1857-8. (Writing in 1883)

"My small experience of India has led me to take a profound interest in the country and its people, and to appreciate the capacity of such men as Salar Jung and Madhao Rao in the highest work of government, but I am sorry to say our general knowledge of the greatest empire ever given to an alien race to rule for good has not been warmed by the breath of sympathy, without which the finest administrative talents are as hollow brass and tinkling cymbals. As I wrote in 1858-59, 'If England loses India, it will be from want of sympathy with its people.'"—"*Nature Opinion*," *Bombay*, August 20, 1899.



James Samuelson *Author of "India, Past and Present,"*  
(1890) and other works.

"The vast mass of the Natives are 'religious,' if by that is meant that they adhere strictly to their religious forms, customs, and ceremonies. All are 'affable' to the extent of occasionally laying th m-

selves open to the charge of mendacity in saying what they think will please those whom they are addressing. They are 'cheerful' and 'grateful,' and far more prone to suffer than to resent insult. I have never heard a Native even hint at the pain he must feel when he hears himself or his fellow countrymen abused by those who consider themselves a superior race"—*"Ind a, Past and Present," James Samuelson, Trubner and Co, 1890.*



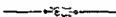
**Frederick von Schlegel (1772-1829)** *German Critic and Writer*

"It cannot be denied that the early Indians possessed a knowledge of the true God, all their writings are replete with sentiments and expressions, noble, clear, and severely grand as deeply conceived and reverently expressed as in any human language in which men have spoken of their God. Among nations possessing indigenous philosophy and metaphysics, together with an innate relish for the pursuits, such as at present characterises Germany, and, in olden times, was the proud distinction of Greece, Hindustan holds the first rank in point of time"—*"Thoughts on the Past and Future of India," Manasukharām Suryaram.*



**Earl of Selborne, Lord Chancellor of England. (Speaking in 1883)**

"My lords, for some years I practised in Indian cases before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and during those years there were few cases of any Imperial importance in which I was not concerned. I had considerable opportunities of observing the manner in which, in civil cases, the Native judges did their duty, and I have no hesitation in saying—and I know this was also the opinion of the judges during that time—that the judgments of the Native judges bore most favourable comparison, as a general rule, with judgments of the English judges. I should be sorry to say anything in disparagement of English judges, who, as a class, are most anxious carefully to discharge their duty, but I repeat that I have no hesitation in saying that in every instance, in respect of integrity, of learning, of knowledge of the soundness and satisfactory character of the judgments arrived at, the Native judgments were quite as good as those of English judges"—*"New India, or, India in Transition," H. J. S. Cotton, Bengal Civil Service, Keegan Paul, Trench, and Co, 1885.*



**Major Thomas Skinner, C.M.G. Commissioner of Public Works in Ceylon. (Writing in 1891)**

"Is it surprising that for such a people I should have a deep attachment? This was the second generation of men to

felt the warmest possible affection, for with their fathers I had long lived on the most intimate terms, and they were specimens of nature's truest gentlemen. It was a source of pride and pleasure to me to witness so many of their sons worthily inheriting the virtues of their sires. I value intensely every memento that I hold from those dear people and shall do so to the day of my death' — "*Fifty Years in Ceylon*," Major Thomas Skinner, C M G, W H Allen, 1891.



Major-General Sir W. H. Sleeman    *Served in India,*  
1808-1856,    *Resident at Lucknow*

"If by the term 'public spirit' be meant a disposition on the part of individuals to sacrifice their enjoyments, or their own means of enjoyment, for the common good there is, perhaps no people in the world among whom it abounds so much as among the people of India. To live in the grateful recollection of their countrymen, for benefits conferred upon them in great works of ornament and utility, is the study of every Hindu of rank and property. Such works tend in his opinion, not only to spread and perpetuate his name in this world, but through the good wishes and prayers of those who are benefited by them to secure the favour of the Deity in the next. According to their notions, every drop of rain water or dew that falls to the ground from the green leaf of a fruit tree planted by them for the common good in this world proves a refreshing draught for their souls in the next. When no descendant remains to pour the funeral libation to their manes, the water from the trees they have planted for the public good is destined to supply the want. Everything judiciously laid out to promote the happiness of their fellow creatures will in the next world be repaid to them tenfold by the Deity. In marching over the country in the hot season, we every morning find our tents pitched on the green sward amid beautiful groves of fruit-trees, with wells of delicious water, but how few of us ever dream of asking at whose cost the trees that afford us and our followers such agreeable shade were planted, or the wells which afford us such copious streams of fine water in the midst of dry and plains were formed?—when we go on enjoying all the advantages which arise from the noble public spirit that animates the people of India to benevolent exertions, without once calling in question the truth of the assertion of our metropolitan friends that 'the people of India have no public spirit'." — "*Rambles and Recollections in India*," Major-General Sir W. H. Sleeman, H. Bohn, 1844. Supplied in MS by Mr Venkiah



Sir James F. Stephen.    *Legal Member, Viceroy of India's Council,*  
1869-72,    *Author, Indian Evidence Act, and standard legal works*

"I think that all District and Sessions Judgeships, as well as the High Court Judgeships, should be thrown open and that the abler

Natives should be appointed to them largely, especially in the quieter parts of the country. I believe that in this way it would be possible in the course of a few years to have a thoroughly good judicial service and a regularly organised legal profession, and in particular to make the service a bond of union between the Natives and ourselves. The Native appointments to the High Court of Calcutta have answered admirably, and I hear on every side excellent accounts of the younger muoshis and the subordinate judges who have been educated in our universities"—*Selection of Records of Government of India (Home Department)*, No. lxxxix p 49.



**Field Marshal Sir Donald M. Stewart, Bart., G C B**

*Served in India from 1840; Commander-in-Chief in India, 1881-1885;*

*Member of Council of Secretary of State for India from 1895.*

"Above all, it was necessary that Englishmen should recognise that there were as clever people in India as in England. He advised those students who were going out to India to treat the Natives as they would their own countrymen and they would find that the people of India were a very charming people. Personally, he was deeply grateful for all that the natives of India had done for him."—*"India," July 28, 1899.*



**Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Temple, Bart., P C, G C S I, K C S I.**

*Finance Minister of India, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal,*

*1874-7, Governor of Bombay, 1877-80*

"Personal kindness and charity have always been amongst the most lovable characteristics of the Natives. These sentiments have induced men to support not only their female relatives and their aged or helpless connexions, which is well, but also their able-bodied and idle male relatives, which is not well. The sympathy of Natives also spreads beyond the circle of relations, friends or dependents. It extends to the miserable wherever met with, to the living community at large, and to the needs of posterity yet unborn. The charity of Natives is, indeed, often misdirected, but is generously profuse. Every Native, who makes a fortune, immediately gives away a part of it to works of public usefulness or charity. . . . Many educated Natives have long cast away the last shreds of their belief in the mythology, the sacred story and the future world of Hinduism. But they do not become irreligious men, nor Atheists, nor Materialists. They believe in the immortality of the human soul, in the existence of abstract principles of right and wrong, in the omniscience of a Supreme Being, who is the creator and preserver of all things, who is absolutely just and good, to whom all men are accountable after death for deeds done in this life. . . . Possibly

the people of India having, with some exceptions and reservations, a sober orderly and law-abiding character, may be compared favourably in respect of crime with the people in more advanced countries. The Native character, as a whole, may be disparaged by some whose experience is short and whose knowledge is not profound. But with an Englishman who lives and labours in the country, the wider his acquaintance with the Natives and the deeper his insight, the greater is his liking for them. He who has the best and longest acquaintance with the Natives esteems them the most. He who has the best data for an opinion regarding them and the firmest ground on which to found his belief, will have the most hopeful faith in their mental and moral progress. Many of their virtues are of a type or mould different from the Anglo-Saxon but their domestic qualities shine with a quiet unobtrusive light which deserves the admiring gaze of even the most civilised nations. There is, in their disposition a cheerful and courageous patience nurtured in the midst of national tribulation a willingness to submit the unruly will to the dictates of a venerated law, and a reliance on an Almighty Power as the refuge of the weak, and the helper of the helpless, which are akin to the best forms of religion. Those primeval characteristics which denote the refinement and elevation of human nature in all climes, and which are nurtured in the oldest epic poetry of the East and West, have ever been, and are to this hour, exemplified in the natives of India. Though there is with them a calm resignation to the decrees of ill, yet the remembrance is never lost of the eternal benevolence, in the thought, that

Unseen it helpeth ye with faithful hands  
Unheard it speaketh stronger than the storms'

— '*India in 1880* Sir Richard Temple, G C S I, C I E, Murray, 1880.

[ After the Bengal famine of 1874, which involved in suffering a proportion of a population of 20,000,000, in reply to a deputation who came to thank him for his services ]

"I acknowledge the good conduct of their countrymen at large during the crisis the munificence of all the Natives in the vast area of distress who could afford to give—the self reliance of the poor who, instead of being pauperised by relief, relinquished the bounty of the State the moment that prosperity returned—the universal charity in all the villages, which both before and after the famine obviated the necessity of a poor law—the fortitude with which all classes of both sexes had faced the common danger—and I called them to join me in thanking Providence for having mercifully preserved us"—"*The Story of my Life*," Right Hon. Sir R. Temple, Bart, G C S I, 2 vols, Cassell and Co, 1896



Lieut.-Colonel James Tod. *Served in or for India, 1799 to 1823,*  
*Political Agent to the Western Rajpoot States.*

"If 'the moral effect of history depends on the sympathy it excites,' the annals of these States [Rajpoot States] possess commanding

interest. The struggles of a brave people for independence during a series of ages, sacrificing whatever was dear to them for the maintenance of the religion of their forefathers, and sturdily defending to death, and in spite of every temptation, their rights and national liberty, form a picture which it is difficult to contemplate without emotion' — "*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*," Lieut -Colonel James Tod, 2 vols., 4to, Smith, Elder and Co, 1829.

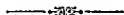
Sir M. Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E., C.I.E. *Hon. LL.D.*

*Calcutta, Bodin Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford*

*(Writing in 1887)*

"What, then, are the best means of promoting this much-to-be-desired goodwill and sympathy between the people of England and the people of India? This is the question I have set myself to answer in the present lecture, and the answer is not difficult. I have nothing new to suggest, no special mission, no wonder-working panacea: of my own to proclaim, no startling discovery to pronounce. I can only insist on principles well known to everyone around me; I can add nothing to the trite truisms already familiar to all of us. How are goodwill and sympathy promoted between any collection of individuals of widely different characters who have to live in daily intercourse with each other. They must learn mutual forbearance, they must consider one another to provoke unto little acts of kindness—little abstinences and wise reticences—they must be charitable in judging of each other, in making allowance for each other's infirmities, in thinking no evil of each other, in bearing, believing, hoping and enduring, all things. In a word, they must cultivate mutual charity. . . . If we are wanting in common charity—including, of course, in that the exercise of kindly feelings towards the people committed to our rule—then it is clear that all our doings in India are nothing worth. We may make laws, administer justice, preach the gospel, educate the people, lay down railroads, telegraphs and telephones, develop the resources of the country, tame and control the forces of nature for the public weal—nay, more, we may bestow all our goods to feed the famine-stricken poor—but our rule will not be rooted in the hearts of the people, our legislation will be as hollow as sounding brass, our preaching and teaching as unmeaning as the tinkling of a cymbal, our Empire as insecure as a tower built on sand, which some great storm will suddenly sweep away. We are not all of us as charitable as we ought to be in our everyday ordinary relations with our Indian brethren—not as fair as we ought to be in our judgment of their character, our estimate of their capacities, our toleration of their idiosyncracies, our appreciation of what is excellent in their literature, customs, religious and philosophic. . . . I am deeply convinced that the more we learn about the ideas, feelings, drift of thought, religious and intellectual development, eccentricities, and even errors of the people of India the less ready shall we be to judge them by our own conventional European standards—the less disposed to regard ourselves as the sole depositories of all the true knowledge, learning, virtue, and refinement of civilised life—the less prone to despise as an ignorant and inferior race (if men who compiled the laws of Manu one of the most remarkable literary productions of the world. . . . Above all the less inclined shall we be to stigmatise as heathenish the author of two religious, however false, which are at this moment professed by about half of the human race. We can avoid denouncing in strong language what we have never sufficiently investigated, and do not thoroughly

understand. . . . I deeply regret that we are in the habit of using opprobrious terms to designate the religious tenets of our Indian brethren, however erroneous we believe those tenets to be. . . . I deplore, too, the ignorance displayed in regard to Indian religious usages . . . Again, we are apt to indulge in a wholesale condemnation of caste and to advocate its total abolition, forgetful that as a social institution it often operates most beneficially."—*Modern India and the Indians.* Sir M. Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E.; Trubner and Co, 1887.



Horace H. Wilson. *Served in or for India, 1808 to 1860*; *Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford.*

"I lived, both from necessity and choice, very much among the Hindus, and had opportunities of becoming acquainted with them in a greater variety of situations than those in which they usually come under the observation of Europeans. In the Calcutta mint, for instance, I was in daily personal communication with a numerous body of artificers, mechanics and labourers, and always found among them cheerful and unwearied industry, good humoured compliance with the will of their superiors, and a readiness to make whatever exertions were demanded of them, there was among them no drunkenness, no disorderly conduct, no insubordination. It would not be true to say that there was no dishonesty but it was comparatively rare, invariably petty, and much less formidable than, I believe, it is necessary to guard against in other mints in our countries. . . . Frankness is one of the most universal features in the Indian character."—Quoted in Max Muller's *India What Can it Teach us?*



felicity appears to be the rule among the Natives, and this is the more strange when the customs of marriage are taken into account, parents arranging all such matters. Many Indian households afford examples of the married state in its highest degree of perfection. This may be due to the teachings of the Shastras and to the strict injunctions which they inculcate with regard to marital obligations, but it is no exaggeration to say that husbands are generally devotedly attached to their wives, and in many instances the latter have the most exalted conception of their duties towards their husbands. Those who have a numerous progeny are held to be especially favoured of heaven, children being considered indispensable to conjugal bliss. A Hindu bard sings thus concerning the blessings conferred on parents on their children —

‘ The love that children waken is the bond  
That binds their parents strongest to their faith,  
By fond affection still there needs this tie  
To make their happiness complete and lasting

Moreover the ties which bind relatives together are very strong, and whenever one member of a family attains to a position of influence and responsibility in life he endeavours to help his poorer kinsfolk to positions which will secure them from want. This is in contrast to the indifference with which in more civilised countries a man who has acquired wealth and affluence too often treats his less fortunate relations. Another remarkable feature in Native character, and one which is peculiar to all classes of the community is sobriety. Rich and poor alike practise this highly commendable virtue, and hence crime in India as shown by statistics is relatively far smaller than in other countries. —*Supplied in MS by Mr Talcherlar*



William S Caine (M.P. 1880-95) *Author of*  
‘*Picturesque India*’ 1890, ‘*Young India*,’ 1891  
(*Writing in 1890*)

‘ I do not think Englishmen realise fully the brain power of the Hindu or the revolution in Hindu society that is being slowly evolved from the University system of India. Some 30,000 young Indians matriculate every year at the five great Universities, of whom about 18,000 have graduated during the last five years, an average of 3,600 a year in B.A., B.Sc., Law, Medicine, and Engineering. An increasing number come to this country for post graduate work, mostly in Law, at the various Inns of Court and in Medicine at London and Edinburgh, while an appreciable number go to Oxford, mainly for the Conventual Civil Service, and others to Cambridge. One of these last, Mr Paranjpye, has just taken the highest honour which can be obtained in any University in the world—the Senior Wranglership at Cambridge.

Mr Paranjpye’s parents are poor farmers at Mundi, a village in the Ratnagiri district on the coast of South Konkan, in the Bombay Presidency. Neither of them has ever been to school, his mother, like most

Indian women, being unable to read or write. Their life, like all Indian agriculturists, has been one long struggle for livelihood, and has little of the enjoyments or comforts possessed by an English agricultural labourer.

In May, 1885, Professor Karve, a relative of the Paranjpyes, who had himself struggled from poverty to a high position in educational work, paid a visit to his native district. Staying for a few days at Murdi, he took a fancy to Raghunath, then a lad of nine, making him a present of an English alphabet. The boy learned with such extraordinary speed and facility that the Professor begged him from his parents, and from that day bore all the expense of his keep and education. For about a year Raghunath lived with Professor Karve in a neighbouring village, thoroughly mastering English, fitting himself for Anglo-Vernacular school life. [He passed on to Fergusson College.] There were now 400 scholars at Fergusson College, a fine pile of buildings, equal to any College in India. The students are mostly Brahmins, sent there from just such village homes as Paranjpyes, the fees being almost nominal, and the boarding charges about ten rupees a month. To make these low fees possible all the professors enter into a mutual contract of self-denial, from the principal downwards, contenting themselves with a salary of about £50 a year for a term of twenty-one years. I know all these professors well, having spent much time in their company during various visits to India and having entertained some of them in this country as welcome guests in my own house. All of them are men of the highest University positions and intellectual attainments. There is not one who, if he turned his back on the plough to which he had set his hands, could not readily make an income tenfold that of the pittance he receives from the funds of the College. A finer, nobler, more self-denying body of men the world cannot furnish. [After recording Paranjpyes' career in India and at Cambridge.] His College [at Cambridge] would gladly give him the first vacant fellowship and assimilate him into the life of a great university where his remarkable powers would win him a first position and a generous income. Other friends urge a scientific career, or the English bar at either of which he would command success. He could readily obtain high and lucrative employment in the Education Department of India. Mr. Paranjpye sets all those tempting opportunities quietly aside. His one ambition is to do for others what his cousin and the other professors of Fergusson College have done for him and, when he has finished his post graduate work at Cambridge, he will drop quietly into his place as Professor of Mathematics at Fergusson College, on a salary of £50 a year, finding his highest reward in the successes of other young Indians, stimulated and encouraged by his own story. — *1st vol., October, 1899*

Henry J. S. Cotton C S I *Indian Service* 1867 to 1899

(Writing in 1885. *Second extract*)

"The people of India possess an instinctive capacity for local self-government, which centuries of misrule have not eradicated . . . The domestic life of the Hindu is indeed in itself not more immoral than that of a European home. Far from it. . . . The affection of Hindoos for the various members of the family group is a praiseworthy and distinctive feature of national character, evinced not in treatment only, but in practical manifestations of enduring charity, the devotion of a parent to a child and of children to parents is most touching. The normal social relations of a Hindoo family, knit together by ties of affection, rigid in chastity, and controlled by the public opinion of neighbouring elders and caste command our admiration and in many respects afford an example we should do well to follow. The stability of the Hindu character could have shown itself in no way more conspicuously than by the wisdom with which it has bent itself before the irresistible rush of Western thought, and has still preserved amidst all the havoc of destruction, an underlying current of religious sentiment, and a firm conviction that their social and moral order can only rest upon a religious basis"—*"New India, or, India in Transition"* Henry J. S. Cotton, *Bengal Civil Service*, Kegan Paul, Trench and Co, 1885

effort. The initiative must come from the English. In the old days of British rule a friendly intimacy did exist between the men of the two races, but as Englishwomen increased in numbers this ceased. In the present day an effort is being made by some to bring about a more healthy and friendly condition of things, but as yet only a few have succeeded in breaking down the barriers. We have not heard of a single instance of disappointment or regret where this has been done. In our own case we can say with pride and gratitude that we have formed many warm friendships among Indians, friendships that made it very bitter to us to leave India, that have stood the test of many years of absence"—*Supplied by Mrs. Knight.*



**Dr Mouatt** *Professor and Principal, Calcutta Medical College, Address delivered in 1868.*

" 'Gratitude'—I sometimes hear many of my countrymen exclaim, who ought to know better—'has no place in their [Indian] hearts. The word is unknown alike to their learned and their vulgar tongues.' When I hear such expressions I always say 'Stop a minute, my friend, you travel too fast. You jump at your conclusions without thought or reflection. Have you rejoiced in their joys, have you sympathised with their sorrows? Have you thrown your doors open to welcome them, have you ever attempted to cultivate their friendship or to meet them as your social equals? Until you do these things you are not qualified to condemn them, or to assume that which has no existence save in your own prejudices and want of knowledge.' So far as my limited experience extends I can give the most emphatic denial to the charge. . . . Among no people with whose history I am acquainted does the grateful memory of their real benefactors live and flourish in freshness and vigour more than with the Hindus who are the subjects of the British Government."—*"Reis and Rayet," Calcutta, May 7, 1898*  
*Supplied by Mr. Venkiah*



**By the Editor.**

In Madras, in 1894, I conversed with a sewing machine agent, who had travelled and done business over the globe. His principal trade now was with Indian tailors and seamstresses—selling machines to be paid for by monthly instalments. I asked the proportion of bad debts in such business. He said he had found them as high as ten per cent in the United Kingdom. 'And in India?' But one per cent and such chiefly with Europeans. 'Practically we have no bad debts with the Natives. If it comes that they cannot pay instalments they will give back the machines.' In open crowded bazaars or market places and on railway platforms in India were money changers. They sat at tables

upon which were piles and heaps of coins of various denominations. Could money be thus exposed at similar gatherings in Europe?

[These estimates of the character of the Indian people by over sixty of those who have known them and are qualified to form an opinion are here drawn to a conclusion. Comment upon them is unnecessary. Should additional testimonies to like effect be forthcoming they will be included in the collective form which, if it is thought desirable, may be given to the whole.]



## APPENDIX.

[Containing a few more Testimonies by Eminent Anglo-Indians  
and others]



### THE PEOPLE OF INDIA: THEIR MANY MERITS.

Abbe J. A. Dubois, *Missionary at Mysore. Extracts from letter dated  
Seringapatam, 15th December, 1820*

Unfortunately these new reformers come from Europe to India very strongly prejudiced against the Hindoos, and with the presumptuous hope that they shall be able to operate, in the religious and civil habits of the latter reforms and changes which have at all times baffled the utmost endeavours of the best disposed persons. On their arrival in the country they continue to look at these people with European eyes, and European prejudices and to act accordingly, but finding themselves disappointed in all their attempts to make an impression upon them on the score of religion or otherwise they in their fiery zeal, or rather in their despair, revenge themselves by lavishing every kind of abuse and insult not only on their religion, but also on all their institutions both public and private, sacred and profane. I cannot disguise to you that I see with a kind of indignation that the peaceable and submissive people have of late years been made a kind of target to aim at them the shafts of calumny and malevolence and to deluge them by the most unfair means.

Alas! it is not Bibles the poor Hindoos want or ask for. It is food and raiment. When the belly is empty, and the back bare, the best disposed even among the Christians feel themselves but very little inclined to peruse the Bible. Every day some of my distressed followers call upon me, the males to show me their tattered *curibeeles* (blankets) and the females their ragged clothes, exclaiming "Sarry bittleyaghee cecotence bouddy. I am naked, please your reverence, and soliciting assistance, but no one comes to say to me that he wants a Bible. If in these circumstances I dismissed them after having made them a present of a Bible, I apprehend that the poor creatures would find the sacred book a very sad substitute for their real wants.

I will not fear to declare, that it is to me a subject of scandal to observe, that while so much anxiety is evinced to supply the Hindoos with Bibles which they never asked for, and which cannot be to them of the least utility, no voice is raised to supply their actual necessities and procure them food and clothing, which they ask so clamorously.

It has at present become a kind of fashion to speak of improvements and ameliorations in the civilization and institutions of the Hindoos, and every one has his own plans for effecting them: but if we could for an instant lay aside our European eyes and European prejudices, and look at the Hindoos with some degree of impartiality, we should perhaps find that they are nearly our equals in all that is good, and our inferiors only in all that is bad.

In my humble opinion, these people have reached the degree of civilization that is consistent with their climate, their wants, their natural dispositions, and physical constitution, and in fact, in education, in manners, in accomplishments, and in the discharge of social duties, I believe them superior to some European nations, and scarcely inferior to any. In all these respects, I believe them superior to the Turks and Russians, who are only surpassed by the persons above the middle ranks in other countries, and they are at least equal, if not

In India we find the opposite holds good! The reason is not far to seek. The English Government is perfectly popular with the mass of the people, because they know the English Government is broadly just in its dealings with them and they have little intercourse with the servants and retainers of individual Englishmen. The greater their means of intercourse with the servants of their rulers the more they fear of acts of individual insult and bullying, and the whole mass of Englishmen suffer in consequence of the few. The Government of the country being foreign to every portion of it, an immense amount of harm is caused by this thoughtless conduct. That the harm done is not greater is due to the fact that the offenders are comparatively few and the mass to be persecuted is enormous, but still the injury done remains and only requires time to develop its fruit.

Government, owing to a variety of causes, has been obliged to increase the strength of the army in this country, but this increase of strength is insignificant compared to what would be developed if all young Englishmen would be careful in their behaviour towards Natives. Every thoughtless action, every disparaging remark is reported out of, and the ripple widens and widens. The number of servants who understand English serving in English households is very much larger than most of us imagine, and one such man in a mess room is sufficient to work the evil.

We should bear in mind that if some Native habits appear disgusting to us so are many English customs filthy in the eyes of Natives. The Frenchman has his frog stew and snail soup, to the Chinaman his puppy dogs and earth-worms are appetising articles of food, and if these are disgusting to us our fondness for pig and beef and beef is at least as degrading in the eyes of the Native. To walk over carpets and lie on sofas and even beds, wearing road-streel boots, is to them filthy. To use utensils so common for eating and drinking is according to their notions of cleanliness, repulsive, for women to dance with strange men unnatural and improper. If Natives smell occasionally of burnt tobacco, it is at least a pure article, and we use and smell of tobacco for much more powerful kind. We laugh at our Aryan brothers' notions of speaking and writing English—but what about our own ludicrous attempts at Hindustani?

**NOTE**—The following brief extracts on 'Indian English' may perhaps not be out of place here.

The *Himalayan* wrote in 1880—The fact that the examinee has to write out all his answers to history, logic, political economy, mathematics, in a foreign tongue shows that the task imposed upon him can be no light one. Now a day it requires some courage to pay a compliment, however moderate, to the requirements of college-taught natives but taking into account the disadvantages under which he labours it is rather a matter of surprise than otherwise that the native has made the progress he has done during the past twenty years. How many educated Englishmen are there who could answer a political economy paper in French?

<sup>1</sup> MARK TWAIN (*Mr Clever the great hunter*), writes in his 'Mors Ira ipsa Abrile'—

We must remember that these pupils had to do their thinking in one language and express themselves in another, an alien one. It was a heavy handicap. I have by me 'Lughish as she is taught'—a collection of American examinations made in the public schools of Brooklyn by one of the teachers, Miss Caroline B. Le Row. In extract or two from its pages will show what when the American pupil is using but one language and that one his own, his performance is no whit better than his Indian brother's.

The late Mr W. L. GRADSTONE once speaking to the Indian National Congress Delegates in London, casually remarked as follows—'I have often said nobody speaks such good English and with such admirable intonation as the people from the East Indies. It is singular, how, the farther you go from England the better the English language is spoken. In France by the French people it is spoken worst of all. In Germany things are a little better. In Poland there is great improvement and so also in Russia. But it is only in India and by Indians that it is really well spoken by those who are not English with intonation and clearness.

The following appeared in the *Bombay Gazette*, in 1894:—"Sir,—I have just come across the letter of 'W. B. F.' in your issue of the 1st instant, under the heading 'Johnsonese vs. English'. The 'under paid official'—your correspondent—does not say how long he has been in India, and whether he has passed in any of the vernaculars. If he is a new arrival and ignorant of the native languages, I am afraid his trials at home with the bungalow full of Indian domestics must be far greater than the occasional infliction of a partially educated Indian youth of seventeen years, whose English has put him out.

"It would, I think, be well if Englishmen in India, facetiously inclined, were to realize the fact that in mastering a foreign language so difficult as the English with its intricate idioms and arbitrary spelling and pronunciation, the Indians have so far shown a greater aptitude than the ruling race has manifested in acquiring a knowledge of the vernaculars, though spending many years of their lives in this country. The Englishman may consider it a good joke now and again to publish specimens of Baboo Indian English, but he must remember that he himself is living in a glass-house in this respect. An educated Indian seldom, if ever, has a chance of conversing with an Englishman in Hindustani, Marathi, or Gujrathi, and is consequently unable to gather up the gems of Indian idioms possessed by his European superior. On the other hand the domestics 'Behind the Bungalow,' though they no doubt laugh heartily at the ludicrous mistakes their *sahib* and *mem Sahib* make daily when conversing in the vernacular, yet are not capable of preserving and eventually publishing the humour for the delectation of the Indians. I have some cuttings of the kind I am now writing about, and I can assure my English readers that no educated Indian will take the specimens to be genuine. In every instance the combination of Johnsonian words and incongruous ideas is so skilfully woven with an eye to raise a laugh that though Englishmen may be found ready to swallow the story, no Indian will receive it seriously. I would respectfully commend to the attention of 'W. B. F.' and others, of his way of thinking, the following passage in a lecture given by Lord Northbrook at Birmingham, some years ago:—said his Lordship 'The instances given by my friend of the kind of English he has heard in India may excite a smile, but I will venture to say that there are hardly half a dozen Englishmen who speak French with the purity and accuracy with which thousands of natives of India speak English.' I can give more such quotations from equally reliable sources, but I fear I have already trespassed too far on your space, Yours—A. R. TALCHERKAR, Bandora 3rd August'



Professor Max Muller, in his inaugural address in connection with the School of Modern Oriental Studies established by the Imperial Institute in union with University College and Kings College London (11th January 1890), observed as follows:—

Look for these men and women and you will find them, if not in the great towns yet in the countless villages of India. The great towns in India, more than in Europe, contain the very dregs of Indian society, and it is from them that our opinion of the character of the Hindoos has been too often formed. And yet what does Elphinstone say who knew India, if anybody ever knew it — 'No set of people among the Hindoos' he says, "are so depraved as the dregs of our own great towns. The villagers are everywhere amiable affectionate to their families kind to their neighbours, and, towards all but the Government, honest and sincere. What does Bishop Heber say — The Hindoos are brave, courteous, intelligent, most eager for knowledge and improvement, sober, industrious, dutiful to parents, affectionate to their children, uniformly gentle and patient, and more easily affected by kindness and attention to their wants and feelings than any people I ever met with. Sir Thomas Munro bears even stronger testimony. He writes — "If a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to either convenience or luxury, schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other, and, above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the



signs which denote a civilised people, then the Hindoos are not inferior to the nations of Europe, and if civilisation is to become an article of trade between England and India, I am convinced that England will gain by the import cargo." These are the unprejudiced opinions of men who knew the Hindoos, their language, literature, and religion thoroughly, who had spent their lives in the Civil Service, and had risen in it to the highest rank. Who after that will dare to say that the Hindoos are a nation of hars and hypocrites, and that no English gentleman could ever be on terms of intimacy and friendship with such negroes?



**Megasthenes.** *A Greek Ambassador in the Court of Chandragupta (Sandrocottus) at Pataliputra (Patna); fourth century before Christ, gives the following account of the People of India.*

"They live happily enough, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine except at sacrifices. Their beverage is a liquor composed from rice instead of barley, and their food is principally a rice pottage. The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges and deposits nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and consign in each other . . . Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem. . . . The husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable; the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger." [Quoted in Mr. Romesh C. Dutt's 'Civilization of India.']



**Vaughan Nash.** *Special Commissioner of the "Manchester Guardian," deputed to India to report on the great famine of 1899-1900.*

"When I look back on those scenes through which I have passed, and think of the sum total of human misery, and the despair I have seen on the peoples' faces, and the ruin this famine has brought on their homes and fields and on their families, I feel it is hopeless to attempt to put into words the agony of India. Every day you have before you the peoples who, in all the world, asked for least, were satisfied with least, denied the gift of daily bread—for which again, of all the peoples in the world, they have given the most patient and uncomplaining toil. You see these simple childlike races, devoted to their homes and their children, made out-castes by the famine, and forced to abandon their customs and leave their homes to get a little bread by labour at stone-breaking or earth-carrying. Most poignant of all in the appeal it made to me was the silence and submission with which they bear their trials. In the hospital sheds, where you pick your way between the rows of the dying, or out in the burning sun, where mothers are hammering stones with one hand and hugging a child with the other, you rarely hear a complaint. Even the gift of tears seems to have dried up, except among the children, whom you see crying sometimes by the side of a sick mother. Those who know India may be able to tell you what spirit it is that looks out from the eyes of these miseries, broken and quenched as they are, and which keeps them dignified and composed in surroundings that are degraded and horrifying. It seemed to me to be the spirit of a noble people, who had won refinement and discipline when our own forefathers were savages, a people we may well be glad to succour and proud to rule, looking out at the wreck of all things, seeing their Gods, their homes, their country shrivelling to dust and ashes. . . . The Indian people are not paupers in spirit, and the idea of pauperisation is imported from this country. I cannot imagine that any people could work harder to preserve their independence by sticking to their villages and undergoing any amount of privation than the Indian people. So far as their own self-respect is concerned, they are quite capable of looking after it for themselves."



**"Pen."** *An old Contributor of "Times of India," writing in Dec. 1899,*

'By the way I think there is one feeling that most of us carry away with us into retirement when we leave India for good, and that is a kind of regret that we did not enjoy ourselves more when we were in India. Though, speaking for

myself, and for a good many others too, I imagine, it must be owned, that we managed to enjoy our lives out there very considerably. It is the sort of feeling that ladies who have been in India are in the habit of expressing in another form. There is nothing more common than to hear Indian ladies in retirement expressing a most devout wish not once but a dozen times a day, that they only had the r old Indian domestics to wait on them once more, instead of these tiresome English or French servants, as the case may be. They cannot speak in terms sufficiently high of their ayahs, of their butlers and their cooks, who seem to have been possessed of all the virtues, though it must be owned that when those ladies were actually out in India and were being waited on by these treasures of Indian servants they used to express themselves regarding them, in far different terms. So perhaps the truth is that we all draw a somewhat rosy and coloured picture of life in India now that it has become a thing of the past.

---

— ❧ —

**Dr. John Pollen. B.A., LL.D., J.P., Bar-at-Law, I.C.S.,**  
*Commissioner of Customs, etc., Bombay*

As Chairman, Dr. Pollen took occasion not long since, whilst criticising a lecture at the Wilson College, Bombay, to bear the following testimony —

"I have lived among, at you the greater part of my life, and I have seen you in your daily goings out and comings in. I have seen, at any rate something of the Indian home, and I entirely and emphatically decline to believe that the Indian mother in her devotion to her children is any way inferior to her sister of the West. I have often marked the tender care the Indian mothers bestow upon their children and I have seen from day to day the sufferings they have to endure in the bitter struggle against poverty which they have to maintain. In these conditions the love and the devotion of the Indian mother are simply admirable. If then such a mother gives you your first lesson in the education of the heart, the lesson cannot but be a good one. [On another occasion he repeated.]

"That the Indians are a grateful people no one can justly deny. I speak with considerable experience and I declare that, speaking generally, the people of India are always deeply grateful for even little acts of kindness. [Speech at the formal reception at Prince's Dock, of the cargo of grain for the Quito de pitched for the sufferers from famine, by the sailors of the New York Christian Herald Bombay, 27th June 1900.]

---

— ❧ —

**Pratap Chandra Mozumdar, Preacher, Brahmo Samaj of India**  
*addressing an American audience, some years ago observed*

"My friends, in the past, religion has been the secret of India's glory. Her Philosophy was religious. Her science held the beacon light of the faith. Her national greatness was entirely through saints and sages. Her scriptures were her great books of literature and wisdom. Without religion India was nothing. It is said that history repeats itself. If that be so in the future also the spirit shall be the light of India's progress. Religious grandeur ethical nobleness devout holiness — these shall be her claims and, if to these claims be joined your civilised western accomplishments human nature shall manifest a completeness which shall afford some glimpse of that kingdom of glory which Christ preached and for which he lived and died.

---

— ❧ —

**J. Young, Secretary Mechanics Institute Bombay** *Extracts from a lecture*

"That the intellectual faculties of natives of a high order is patent from so many youths passing with marked distinctions the Civil Services Examinations, under circumstances of the greatest disadvantage, having to acquire a complete mastery of English before they can fairly be said to commence their qualifying studies. Some of the most important administrative posts in the land are ably filled by native gentlemen.

"They are said to be constitutionally timid, yet they evince a spirit of enterprise in their ordinary pursuits and avocations, which is hardly consistent with

this imputation. If to appreciate the blessings of peace, and prefer a state of security to the horrors of strife and warfare, is an indication that they are constitutionally timid, it is surely also an indication that their philosophy is eminently sound and practical. They are law abiding and submissive to the constituted authorities. What is called inabitiveness is common to them. They are attached to, and reluctant to leave the towns and villages of their birth, this, however, is not a distinctive characteristic, being peculiar to many other races besides.

"Cleanliness is an Indian characteristic, and natives may be seen at all hours of the day performing their ablutions on the banks of rivers, or beside the tanks, and wells, which abound in every town and village throughout India. Bathing, indeed, is to many a pastime. A traveller writes thus regarding the picturesque effect of Hindoo women as bathers —

"It is common on the banks of rivers to see small Hindoo temples with ghats or passages and flights of steps leading down to the water. In the morning at or after sunrise the women bathe, the younger put, in particular, continuing in the water a considerable time, sporting and playing like naiads or syrens. To a painter's mind the fine antique figures never fail to present themselves, when he observes a beautiful female form ascending the steps from the water, with wet drapery showing all the graceful outlines of the person. They are very sensitive, and resent, though their manner may not give much indication of irritation, being slighted, or treated with less consideration than they deem themselves entitled to. Any slight inflicted upon them is perhaps resented the more because a sense of decorum compels them to suppress their annoyance. Generally, they keep their feelings well under control and this is one of their principal characteristics. They do not indulge in wild manifestations of joy when exceptionally good news reaches them nor do they evince extravagant grief when bad tidings are brought to them. They bear the transitions of fortune from good to bad and from bad to good, with apparent equanimity, in spite of acute sensibility. This is an admirable characteristic. The ancient Greeks and Romans accounted it a lofty virtue to meet good and bad fortune with composure and dignity. It was one of their fundamental philosophical teachings—a doctrine which they considered to be the outcome of superior intelligence, high culture and advanced civilization. Yet the natives of India practice this virtue, in the very dawn, as it were for them, of intelligence, culture and civilization.

"Parade and ostentation are native characteristics, pomp and magnificence being essential features of all ceremonies, where the means exist for such indulgence. The more these ceremonies dazzle by their splendour the greater their success. But such ostentation is comparatively harmless and has little that is reprehensible in it.

To sum up, the natives of India have many characteristics that must elicit admiration, and though they have their faults, like the rest of mankind, yet the latter are far outweighed by their virtues the unobtrusive exercise of which is steadily strengthening the respect and regard entertained for them by Englishmen who live among and know them —

"Ours are the plans of polity and peace,  
To live like brothers and conjunctive all  
Embellish life

'Mutual forbearance toleration and loyal co operation. This is true philosophy, and if consistently applied to the relations existing between England and her magnificent dependency, the bonds which unite the two countries will ere long become indissoluble.'

NOTE.—On the point of dress referred to above, the following may be read with interest.

JAMES FORBES, *the traveller, in his Memoirs* (1765).

"No women can be more attentive to cleanliness than the Hindoos, they take every method to render their persons delicate, soft, and attractive, their dress is peculiarly becoming, consisting of a long piece of silk, or cotton, tied round the waist, and hanging in a graceful manner to the feet, it is afterwards brought

over the body in negligent folds under this they cover the bosom with a short waist coat of satin, but wear no linen. Their long black hair is adorned with jewels, and wreaths of flowers, their ears are bored in many places, and loaded with pearls, a variety of gold chains, strings of pearl, and precious stones fall from the neck over the bosom and the arms are covered with bracelets from the wrist to the elbow, they have also gold and silver chains round the ankles, and abundance of rings on their fingers and toes among the former is frequently a small mirror I think the richer the dress, the less becoming it appears, and a Hindoo woman of distinction always seems to be overloaded with finery while the village nymphs, with fewer ornaments but in the same elegant drapery, are more captivating although there are very few women, even of the lowest families, who have not some jewels at their marriage.



SIR ERSKINE PERRY, in his '*Diriety's view of India*'

"The Hindus are a handsome race of mankind. The women with their elegantly turned limbs and small hands and feet, all displayed with liberal profusion to admirers of the *Aud*, may vie with those of any country in the world for symmetry and I know not a more picturesque sight than a river near some Brahman village, such as *Ras* in the Deccan to which Hindu maidens are resorting for the purpose either of bathing or fetching water. In the former case, it is remarkable to observe with what virgin purity the whole operations of bathing and changing the dress are effected in the face of the whole village. A Brahman girl puts on a clean robe every day and the river is entered with every thing on, so that the toilette as well as the belle receive ablution at the same time, while on emerging from the stream the dry clothes left on the bank are artistically arranged for putting on, and in the twinkling of an eye the wet dress drops from beneath the *Sari*, or flowing robe which the maiden puts on at the same moment. This *Sari*, which is the universal dress of a Hindu female, consists of a very long narrow robe often twenty or thirty yards long, which after being first bound round the waist is tacked up one end of it behind, whilst the other end is thrown gracefully over the shoulder. In addition to this in Western India they wear a short spencer called *Okuli* covering the bosom but leaving the greater part of the arms and the body down to the waist bare. They wear nothing on their heads but native flowers and the graceful *coiffure a la Grecque* is universal. The dress altogether is most becoming and when in full costume with a handsome *Sari* a Hindu girl coming from the well with a vase of water on her head has often reminded me of an ancient Caryatide, or of the finest draped figure of antiquity, the Pallas di Velletri."



## INTERCOURSE WITH NATIVES.

Wm Chaplin *An able and talented Civil Servant of great experience 1839 1827.*

"The great but almost universal error, which young men of little experience in India are apt to fall into is to think too much of themselves and very little of the natives. This assumption of superiority often leads to a haughty and supercilious demeanour extremely offensive to all classes and productive of great injury to the public service for it is only by an undeserved communication with all descriptions of persons that a knowledge of abuses is to be obtained, and the local ministerial officers kept within the line of their duty. The good sense, however of the great majority of well educated young men who now come out to this country enables them very soon to perceive that in many of the most important branches of the service they are extremely helpless without the assistance of intelligent natives while they at the same time observe that almost all those public officers who have most distinguished themselves have been remarkable for having freely consulted and conversed with all classes, whose opinions and information although they have been implicitly governed by none, have been mainly instrumental in contributing to their eminence and advancement."

"If it be just to suppose that a Government of strangers, who have come from a distance of half the globe, notwithstanding every wish to conciliate attachment, must still be felt as irksome if not degrading, our own interests if not those of humanity, should dictate to us the propriety of contributing all we can towards maintaining that empire of opinion which, as far as respects our power our justice, and our moderation, is acknowledged to be the main support of our administration. Every individual has it in his power to strengthen this tie which unites the conquered to the conquerors, by a liberating to the humanizing policy which I am endeavouring to inculcate. It is a trite but a just observation that it is as necessary to leave to a subjugated people their manners, as to let them enjoy their laws. It is in a great degree by these means that we must hope to preserve their fidelity and allegiance, and thereby cement the widely disjointed, but not dissimilar parts of our Indian sovereignty. I am fully aware of the personal sacrifices required of the want of leisure and above all of the difficulty we must experience in associating with the Native gentry, or assimilating with their very opposite customs, but although complete success is not obtainable yet, by giving up some of our own prejudices, much may be effected towards being reconciled to native manners and institutions.

"In attending to the usual forms of civility to which the natives have been accustomed, it is better to err on the safe side by yielding more than less, of etiquette than they are entitled to. I do not mean by this concession that the dignity of the European character should be in any wise compromised, but I am convinced that that dignity is best maintained by not standing up stiffly and arrogantly in matters of little moment. It may be recollected that since the change of Government has inevitably deprived the native gentry of much of their consequence it is the more incumbent on us to continue to them the form of civil intercourse and that although we may be apt to consider them far beneath us, nothing can be more injurious and cruel than to evince this opinion, either by wilful neglect or wanton disregard of established usages. There are many peculiar circumstances of character that must prove an insuperable bar to any cordial intercourse of sentiment and some obvious defects and vicious propensities that will often provoke contempt, but when the motives are sufficiently strong we know that it is in the power of every one to govern his temper. In dealing with all classes, no one quality will stand us in more stead than patience. It has been well observed by a modern writer in England that many a man would rather you heard his story than granted his request. Those who have had experience will readily acknowledge the applicability of this remark to the natives of this country.

---

**Lord Curzon.** *Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1898*

Speaking about the conception of duty that a Viceroy elect of India should set before himself Lord Curzon observed: "He should try to remember that all its people are not the sons of our own race and that it is only by regard for their feelings, by respect for their prejudices—I will even go so far as to say by deference to their scruples—that we can obtain the acquiescence as well as the submission of the governed."

---

**Lord Elgin.** *Viceroy and Governor General of India, 1844-48*

"Certain am I that in this year of Jubilee we can make an earnest effort to promote greater confidence between rulers and ruled, more forbearance where racial or religious feeling is apt to lead to strife, juster views of the supreme importance of peace and good will, we shall have done something to raise to our beloved sovereign a memorial more enduring than brass of which any monarch and any nation might be proud."

---

**The Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, 1793-1829.** *Governor of Bombay*

"Englishmen in India have less opportunity than might be expected of forming opinions of Native character. Even in England few know much of the people beyond their own class, and what they do know they learn from newspapers

and publications of a description which does not exist in India . . . . Missionaries of a different religion, judges, police magistrates, officers of revenue and customs, and even diplomatists, do not see the most virtuous portion of a nation, nor any portion unless when influenced by passion, or occupied by some personal interest. What we do see we judge by our own standard. We conclude that a man who cries like a child on slight occasions must always be incapable of acting or suffering with dignity and that one who allows himself to be called a liar would not be ashamed of any baseness. Our writers also confound the distinctions of time and place, they combine in one character the Maratha and the Bengalee and mix the present generation with the crimes of the heroes of the Mahabharat. It might be urged in opposition to these unfavourable testimonies that those who have known the Indians longest have always the best opinion of them, but this is rather a compliment to human nature than to them, since it is true of every other people. It is more in point that all persons who have resided from India think better of the people they have left after comparing them with others, even of the most justly admired nations.

---

—•—•—•—

**Sir Henry Lawrence, 1833-37. Chief Commissioner of Oude**

Though compelled in candour to admit that without sword government the British in India could not maintain their position we feel strong in our hearts to convict on that one good magistrate may be better than a regiment, one sound law well administered better than a brigade, than a happy admixture of a just civil administration with the strong will retain the country in peace and happiness as long as it is good that we should hold it. It is not by believing that ourselves or our laws all purity or all corruption that we are likely to come to a right understanding of what is best for India, but by a close study of its past history and then by setting ourselves down, each in his own sphere and honestly working out the details of a code, honestly and able repaired not shifting and changing from day to day but founded on experience and suitable to a rude and simple people who, like all people under the sun, prefer Justice to Law.

---

—•—•—•—

**Sir John Malcolm, 1783-1831 Governor of Bombay**

'One of the first points of importance is that natives whatever be their rank, class, or business, should have complete and easy access to personal communication with their European superiors. No native servant high or low, must be allowed the privilege of either introducing or stopping an applicant or a complainant. All such must come with confidence to the European superior or to such assistant as he may specifically direct to receive or hear them. It is perhaps better when the habits are so formed as to admit of it, that the natives of all classes and ranks should have admission and be heard at whatever hour of the day they come, except at those of meals. But where such constant intrusion is found to interrupt other business, certain portions of every day must be set aside to hear representations and complaints, and see those who desire to be seen. The establishment of direct intercourse is in my opinion, a primary and indispensable duty one no more dependent upon the inclination or judgment of the individual than it is to an officer whether he shall attend his parade or to a judge whether he shall sit a certain number of hours in his Court.

---

—•—•—•—

**Sir Thomas Munro, 'The Friend of the Pyot,' 1780-1827 Governor of Madras**

"A knowledge of the natives is still more essential and this knowledge is only to be acquired by an early and free intercourse with them for which the revenue presents infinitely more facilities than any other line. It ought to be our aim to give to the younger servants the best opinion of the natives in order that they may be better qualified to govern them hereafter.

'The way to make our administration efficient is to simplify it—to employ our European and native servants on those duties for which they are respectively best adapted. Employ all civil servants first in the revenue line not merely to teach them revenue business, but because they will see the natives under their best form

as industrious and intelligent husbandmen and manufacturers ; will become acquainted with their habits, manners, and wants, and lose their prejudice against them, become attached to and feel a desire to befriend and protect them. And this knowledge and feeling will adhere to them ever after, and be most useful to them and the natives during the rest of their lives."

## LORD DUFFERIN'S SPEECH

GENTLEMEN,—Some intelligent, loyal, patriotic and well-meaning men are desirous of taking, [I will not say a further step in advance, but a very big jump into the unknown by the application to India of democratic methods of Government, and the adoption of a Parliamentary system which England herself has only reached by slow degrees and through the discipline of many centuries of preparation. The ideal authoritatively suggested, as I understand, is the creation of a representative body or bodies in which the official element shall be in a minority, who shall have what is called the power of the purse, and who, through this instrumentality, shall be able to bring the British executive into subjection to their will. The organisation of battalions of native militia and volunteers for the internal and external defence of the country is the next arrangement suggested, and the first practical result to be obtained would be the reduction of the British Army to one half its present numbers. Well, gentlemen, I am afraid that the people of England will not readily be brought to the acceptance of this programme, or to allow such an assembly or a number of such assemblies either to interfere with its armies or to fetter and circumscribe the liberty of action either of the Provincial Governments or of the Supremo Executive (Applause) In the first place, the whole scheme is eminently unconstitutional, for the essence of Constitutional Government is that responsibility and power should remain in the same hands, and the idea of irresponsible Councils, whose members could never be called to account in a constitutional country, arresting the march of Indian legislation, or nullifying the policy of the British Executive in India, would be regarded as an impracticable anomaly. (Applause.) Indeed, so obviously impossible would be the application of any such system in the circumstances of the case that I do not believe it has been seriously advocated by any native statesman of the slightest weight or importance. I have come into contact during the last four years with, I imagine, almost all the most distinguished persons in India. I have talked with most of them upon these matters, and I have never heard a suggestion from one of them in the sense I have mentioned. (Cheers.) But if no native statesman of weight or importance, capable of appreciating the true interests of England and of India, is found to defend this programme, who are those who do? Who and what are the persons who seek to assume such great



powers, to tempt the fate of Phaeton and to sit in the chariot of the Sun ? (Applause) Well, they are gentlemen of whom I desire to speak with the greatest courtesy and kindness, for they are most of them the product of the system of education which we ourselves have carried on during the last thirty years. But thirty years is a very short time in which to educate a self-governing nation from its primordial elements. At all events, let us measure the extent of educated assistance upon which we could call at this moment. Let us examine the degree of proficiency which the educated classes of India have attained, and the relation of their numbers to the rest of the population. Out of the whole population of British India, which may be put at 200 millions in round numbers, not more than five or six per cent. can read and write, while less than one per cent. has any knowledge of English.

"Thus the overwhelming mass of the people—perhaps one hundred and ninety out of the two hundred millions—are still steeped in ignorance ; and of the ten or twelve millions who have acquired education, three-fourths, or perhaps, less have not attained to more than the most elementary knowledge. In our recent review of the progress of education it was pointed out that ninety-four and a half per cent. of those attending our schools and colleges were in the primary stage, while the progress made in English education can be measured by the fact that the number of students who have graduated at the Universities since their establishment in 1857, that is, during the course of the last twenty-one years, is under eight thousand. During the last twenty five years, probably not more than half-a-million students have passed out of our schools with a good knowledge of English, and, perhaps, a million more with a smattering of it. Consequently, it may be said that out of a population of 200 millions, there are only a very few thousands who may be considered to possess adequate qualifications, so far as education and an acquaintance with Western ideas or even Eastern learning are concerned, for taking an intelligent view of those intricate and complicated economic and political questions affecting the destinies of so many millions of men which are almost daily being presented for the consideration of the Government of India (Applause.)

"I would ask, then, how could any reasonable man imagine that the British Government would be content to allow this microscopic minority to control their administration of that majestic and multiform Empire for whose safety and welfare they are responsible in the eyes of God and before

the face of civilisation? (Cheers) It has been stated that this minority represents a large and growing class. I am glad to think it represents a growing class, and I feel very sure that, as time goes on, it is not only the class that will grow but the information and experience of its members. At present, however, it appears to me a groundless contention that it represents the people of India. If they had been really representatives of the people of India—that is to say, of the voiceless millions—instead of seeking to circumscribe the incidence of the income-tax as they desired to do, they would probably have received a mandate to decuple it. (Laughter) Indeed, is it not evident that large sections of the community are already becoming alarmed at the thought of such self-constituted bodies interposing between themselves and the nugust impartiality of English rule? These persons ought to know that in the present condition of India, there can be no real or effective representation of the people with their enormous numbers, their multifarious interests, and their tessellated nationalities? They ought to see that all the strength, power and intelligence of the British Government are applied to the prevention of one religion dominating another; and they ought to feel that in their peculiar position there can be no greater blessing to the country than the existence of an external dispassionate and immutable authority whose watchword is Justice, and who alone possesses both the power and the will to wield the rights and status of each separate element of the Empire into a peaceful co-ordinated and harmonious unity. (Loud cheers)

“ When the Congress was first started I watched its operations with interest and curiosity. I was aware that there were many social topics connected with the habits and customs of the people which were of questionable utility, but with which it was either undesirable for the Government to interfere, or which it was beyond their power to influence or control. For instance, where is there a population whose rise in the scale of social comfort and prosperity is more checked and impeded by excessive and useless expenditure on the occasion of marriages and other similar ceremonies, than that of India, or in what country is the peasant more hampered in the pursuit of his agricultural industry than is the Hindoo or Mahomedan ryot by chronic indebtedness to the money-lenders? Where is there a more crying need for sanitary reform than amongst those who insist upon bathing in the tanks from which they obtain their drinking-water, and where millions of men, women and children die yearly or, what

is even worse, become the victims of chronic debility, disease and racial deterioration from preventible causes? What system could be named more calculated to cause greater searchings of the heart than some of the domestic arrangements so ruthlessly insisted upon by Hindu society? Above all, what land is exposed to such imminent danger by the overflow of the population of large districts and territories whose inhabitants are yearly multiplying beyond the numbers which the soil is capable of sustaining?

"To this last topic I am especially anxious to call the attention of every lover of his country. The danger has long since been signalled by European writers, especially by that most acute of all observers, the late Sir Henry Maine, and it was almost the first subject that attracted my attention when I came to India. Perhaps the widespread misery which I had witnessed in Ireland produced by similar conditions had quickened my observation. (Hear, hear.) I first of all commissioned Sir William Hunter to take the matter up, and after his departure the task of dealing with it was confided to Sir Edward Beck. A committee met at Delhi, and at the same time provisional reports were called for from various Governments on the general condition of the people. The short Resolution in which the general tendency of these reports and the lessons to be derived from them are contained has, I understand, been denounced as an endeavour of the Government to impart a rose-coloured view to the situation. All I can say is that, in ordering the inquiry, my object was to obtain the means of awaking public opinion in India to the gravity and danger of our position rather than to lull it into fancied security: and anyone who can derive much satisfaction from the result must be either of a very sanguine or a very callous temperament; for although it has been clearly demonstrated that those who represent the poorer classes of India as universally living in a chronic state of semi-starvation and inanition grossly exaggerate, and that as a whole their condition has been steadily improving. It is undoubtedly the case that in certain districts, whose inhabitants are to be numbered by millions, the means of sustenance provided by the soil are inadequate for the support of those who live upon it. When we reflect that in the most thickly-populated districts of Europe there are only from 400 to 500 persons to the square mile, whereas in the localities I am referring to they exceed 700 and even 800 to the square mile, we shall be better able to appreciate the reality of the danger. Well, then, gentlemen, for such a state of things

there are only two remedies: the expansion of manufacturing industries, and emigration. But it is not in the power of the Government of itself to apply either of these remedies. [Applause.] By removing restrictions on trade and by the multiplication of roads, railways and the facilities of conveyance, we can foster manufacturing and mercantile activity, which we are doing; but the actual creation of manufacturing centres must be the work of private enterprise. (Cheers) To the same imperfect degree, and principally by the same means, the Government can promote emigration. (Cheers.) It can let or sell land under favorable conditions to would-be settlers; it can indicate the places where the population is superabundant, and where comparatively unoccupied tracts are to be found; but it can neither prohibit by law imprudent marriages, nor compel the inhabitants of a village in any particular locality to transfer themselves to another. But what the Government cannot do the gentlemen to whom I am referring might very usefully employ themselves in doing. They know the ways and habits of the people they know the nature of their occupations, they know their needs; and as they themselves come from different parts of India, know where labour is scarce, where land is plentiful and where the newcomers could be best accommodated either as cultivators or as coolies. By carefully examining the elements of the problem they might put themselves into a position to place at the disposal of the Government both useful information and advice. (Loud applause.)

"Again, with regard to sanitation, and by sanitation I do not mean the inopportune and injudicious worrying and harrying of our villagers into the adoption of uncongenial ways and habits, or the forcing upon them of the latest principles of Western hygiene, but a gradual, patient process similar to that which has banished cholera, jail fever and many other ills from England during the course of the present century, and which consists in placing pure water within the reach of the people, and in indoctrinating them with those simple rules which add as much to the comfort as they do to the decency of domestic life. The Government has recently given its serious attention to this subject, and has laid down the lines upon which in its opinion sanitary reform should be applied to our towns and villages. It has given sanitation a local habitation and a name in every great division of the Empire, and it has arranged for the establishment of responsible central agencies from one end of the country to the other, who will be in close communication with all the local authorities within their respective

jurisdictions. But, after all the most earnest endeavours, both of the Supreme and of the Provincial Governments, will be of little avail unless seconded by the intelligent co-operation of the educated native classes. (Applause.) So, again, with regard to technical education, the Government of India may recommend to the Local Governments the policy and the arrangements which it considers to be suited for the establishment and spread of this useful and necessary branch of instruction, and the Local Governments may improve upon those suggestions, or may apply them with the utmost zeal and wisdom ; but it is the educated classes, those who are most intimately acquainted with the internal economy of the homes of India and the natural aptitudes of their inhabitants, who alone can give energy and vitality to the movement.

“ Well, gentlemen, as I have already observed, when the Congress was first started, it seemed to me that such a body, if they directed their attention with patriotic zeal to the consideration of these and cognate subjects as similar Congresses do in England, might prove of assistance to the Government and of great use to their fellow citizens : and I cannot help expressing my regret that they should seem to consider such momentous subjects, as beneath their notice ; and that they should have concerned themselves instead with matters in regard to which their assistance is likely to be less profitable to us. (Applause) It is a still greater matter of regret to me that the members of the Congress should have become answerable for the distribution, as their officials have boasted amongst thousands of ignorant and credulous men, of publications animated by a very questionable spirit, and whose manifest intention is to excite the hatred of the people against the public servants of the Crown in this country. (Cheers.) Such proceeding as these no Government could regard with indifference ; nor can they fail to inspire it with misgivings, at all events of the wisdom of those who have so offended ; nor is the silly threat of one of the chief officers—the principal secretary I believe—of the Congress that he and his Congress friends hold in their hands the keys, not only of a popular insurrection, but of a military revolt, calculated to restore our confidence in their discretion, even when accompanied by the assurance that they do not intend, for the present, to put these keys into the locks. (Loud applause) But gentlemen, though I have thought it my duty in these plain terms to point out what I consider the misapprehension of the Congress party as to the proper direction in which their

energies should be employed, I do not at all wish to imply that I view with any thing but favour and sympathy the desire of the educated classes of India to be more largely associated with us in the conduct of the affairs of their country. Such an ambition is not only very natural, but very worthy, provided due regard be had to the circumstances of the country, and to conditions under which the British administration in India discharges its duties. (Applause.) In the speech which I delivered at Calcutta on the occasion of her Majesty's Jubilee I used the following expression :— ' Wide and broad, indeed, are the new fields in which the Government of India is called upon to labour but no longer as of afore time need it labour alone. Within the period we are reviewing education has done its work, and we are surrounded on all sides by native gentlemen of great attainments and intelligence, from whose hearty, loyal and honest co-operation we may hope to derive the greatest benefit. In fact to an Administration so peculiarly situated as ours, their advice, assistance and solidarity are essential to the successful exercise of its functions ; nor do I regard with any other feelings than those of approval and good will their natural ambition to be more extensively associated with their English rulers in the administration of their own domestic affairs ; and glad and happy should I be if, during my sojourn amongst them, circumstances permitted me to extend and to place upon a wider and more logical footing the political status which was so wisely given a generation ago by that great statesman, Lord Halifax, to such Indian gentlemen as by their influence, their acquirements and the confidence they inspired in their fellow-countrymen were marked out as useful adjuncts to our Legislative Councils.' To every word which I then spoke I continue to adhere. (Cheers.) But surely the sensible men of the country cannot imagine that even the most moderate constitutional changes can be effected in such a system as ours by a stroke of the pen, or without the most anxious deliberations as well as careful discussions in Parliament. (Applause.) If ever a political organisation has existed where caution is necessary in dealing with those problems which affect the adjustment of the administrative machine, and where haste and precipitancy are liable to produce deplorable results, it is that which holds together our complex Indian Empire ; and the man who stretches forth his hand towards the ark, even with the best intentions, may well dread lest it should shrivel up to the shoulder.

“ But growth and development are the rule of the world's history, and from the proofs I have already given of the way in which English states-

manship has perpetually striven gradually to adapt our methods of government in India to the expanding intelligence and capacities of the educated classes amongst our Indian subjects, it may be confidently expected that the legitimate and reasonable aspirations of the responsible heads of native society, whether Hindu or Muhamedan, will in due time receive legitimate satisfaction. (Cheers) The more we enlarge the surface of our contact with the educated and intelligent public opinion of India the better; and although I hold it absolutely necessary, not merely for the maintenance of our own power but for the good government of the country and for the general content of all classes, and especially of the people at large, that England should never abdicate her supreme control of public affairs or delegate to a minority or to a class the duty of providing for the welfare of the diversified communities over which she rules, I am not the less convinced that we could with great advantage draw more largely than we have hitherto done on native intelligence and native assistance in the discharge of our duties. (Loud applause.) I have had ample opportunities of gauging and appreciating to its full extent the measure of good sense, of practical wisdom and of experience which is possessed by the leading men of India, both among the great nobles on the one hand and amongst the leisured and professional classes, on the other, and I have now submitted officially to the home authorities some personal suggestions in harmony with the foregoing views. (Cheers.)

"Gentlemen I have sometimes seen in the newspapers formidable indictments drawn up against the British Administration in India, I do not now refer to them for the purpose of controverting the charges which they formulated, but they have certainly indicated one blemish which the Government of India frankly recognises, and had already begun to deal with, namely, the present constitution of the police. There are undoubtedly great defects in this branch of the public service. It is, however, by no means an easy matter to deal with the difficulty lying in the low morale prevailing in the classes from which alone the police can be drawn, in the supineness and ignorance of the people themselves, and still more on account of the additional expenditure which would be entailed by any really effective amelioration of the force. (Applause.) Again, with regard to the separation of Judicial and executive officers in the early stages of the Service and in the lower grades, this is a counsel of perfection to which we are ready to subscribe, though the reform suggested, where it has not been

carried into effect—and it has not been largely effected—is by no means so simple a proceeding as many people suppose. But here also we have a question of money. With regard to both these subjects, however, I have to make one observation. The evils complained of are not of recent date: they existed long before my time, and, had they been as intolerable as is now stated, they would have been remedied while the existence of surplus funds rendered this practicable; but as this was not done, it is fair to argue that, even admitting that there is room for improvement in both the above respects, we can afford to consult times and seasons in carrying these improvements into effect. (Applause.) Be that however it may, I confess I always lay down these incriminating documents with a feeling of relief at finding that more serious shortcomings cannot be alleged against us. (Cheers.) When I consider the difficulties of our task, the imperfection of the instruments through which we must necessarily work, the multiplicity of the interests with which we have to deal, the liability of our most careful calculations to be upset by material accidents over which we have no command, the complexity and centrifugal might of the forces we are called upon to harmonise and co-ordinate, the extraordinary tendency in the East for two and two to make five, and the imperfection which stamps the conduct of all affairs, my wonder is that our miscarriages should not have been infinitely multiplied. In reading the criticism I am reminded of a story of a young man who afterwards became very powerful public speaker. On his first appearance on the hustings he was so embarrassed by the novel circumstances of his situation that he made but an indifferent effort at his speech; but when some one in the crowd ill-naturedly jeered at him he cried out: ‘You just come up here and do it yourself: you won’t find it so easy’—which pertinent observation at once won for him the sympathy of his audience. (Loud laughter.) At all events we have the satisfaction of knowing that there is another side to the picture, for, in these diatribes, to use Sir Auckland Colvin’s eloquent words ‘of the India of to-day as we know it, of India under education, of India compelled in the interests of the weaker masses to submit to impartial justice, of India brought together by road and rail, of India entering into the first class commercial markets of the world, of India of religious toleration, of India assured for terms of years unknown in less fortunate Europe of profound and unbroken peace, of India of the free Press, of India finally taught for the first time that the end and aim of rule is the welfare of the people and not the personal aggrandizement of the sovereign’—he might have added



of India that within the last 28 years has accumulated 110 millions of gold and 218 millions of silver—we fail to find a syllable of recognition' (Cheers) At all events, gentlemen, you may be sure that whatever our sins, whether of omission or of commission, the English Government in India will continue faithfully, courageously and in the fear of God to endeavour to discharge its duties, to amend whatever may be amiss, and still further to improve the good which already exists, indifferent to praise or blame, and as unresentful of the hatred things occasionally said of us by those for whose sake we are labouring as we shall always be grateful for the appreciation of those, and they are the great majority of our Indian fellow-subjects, who have the intelligence to understand and the generosity to acknowledge what we have done for them. (Loud cheers)

## AN OPEN LETTER

*To the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava and Earl of Ava, G.C.S.I.,  
G.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., &c., &c.*

MY LORD MARQUIS,

ON the eve of your "official dissolution" you have delivered yourself of a diatribe against a movement which, whether your Lordship believes it or not, is very near to the hearts of many millions of the people of India. The National Congress which has provoked your sneers—and, as I will show, your misrepresentations—is the concrete manifestation of hopes and of ambitions which have been gradually maturing and taking shape during the last half century. With these your Lordship may have no real sympathy. But they are of England's planting. They are the outcome of English education, and of intimacy with Englishmen and English modes of life and thought. To their inception Parliament has given sanction. The Queen has pledged herself to their development. A long list of Viceroys has expressed goodwill and satisfaction with their progress. One Viceroy has gone farther, and has attempted in some measure to redeem the solemn promises of his Sovereign and his countrymen. You have yourself been careful during your tenure of office to disseminate the belief that, if not in complete harmony with, you were not hopelessly opposed to, the aspirations you saw around you. For four years you weighed your lightest utterance. If you aroused no enthusiasm by their generosity, at least you courted no dissatisfaction by the hostility of your public utterances. Your prudent reticence was coterminous with your reign. I will not impute to you the desire to retain popularity by the arts of simulation or dissimulation. But, if others are less charitable, you have only yourself to blame. You have thought it wise, a few days before your departure from India, publicly to throw off all reserve. You have thought it generous to declare yourself an opponent of the people's wants. For four years you have drawn from the people of India a splendid salary: and your last official act is to condemn Indian aspiration and sneer at Indian reform. Your friends will doubtless point to your published speeches in refutation of my charge. They will produce your "recommendations" to the Home Government as evidence of your sincerity. But many will regard your benevolence as spurious, and trace to policy what should be due to conviction. I leave

you, my Lord, to settle accounts with your own conscience. But the people of India must be pardoned if they cite you as another instance of the facile plasticity of official virtue: and if they take your successors rather less upon trust, truth will refer failing confidence to the reflections engendered by your latest public declaration.

If your last act was neither wise nor generous, what shall we say of its courage? It needed but little of that quality to denounce amid the security of your European friends, your Indian subjects in their absence. It would have been possible to forgive indiscretion had you been brave: and if there had been little to applaud in the sentiments you uttered, there would have been something to admire if you had disburthened yourself of your Philippic before an Indian audience. That contest you avoided. Your discretion we cannot gainsay. But we laugh at your valour. Few men are more capable than yourself of eliciting the cheers and admiration of an educated assembly. Your rhetoric is magnificent. Your speeches in Canada won you a well-deserved acclaim. Your speeches in India have been marked by all the polish of an exceptionally thoughtful essayist. With much of what you said at the St. Andrew's Dinner we shall all agree. But it would be difficult adequately to pourtray the pain and humiliation which you have aroused among large classes of your subjects by the capacity with which you have deliberately employed the art of misrepresentation to win the applause of Englishmen by your rhetoric against Indians. You have been careless, my Lord, in the language of your indictment. You have not been more careful in the offences you impute to the loyalty of the National Congress. At all times, and I avow it with regret, it is easy to influence the white against the black. The task is trebly easy when it is attempted by a Viceroy. It is not merely that your arguments derive new force from your great position as the head of the Empire. Your averments of facts are accepted as unimpeachable. No one harbours a suspicion that your quotations are untrue. Awed by the splendour of your office, and charmed by the magic of your voice, men yield their consciences to your keeping with unquestioning trust. I read of the "thundering applause" with which you were greeted, of the liberality of the repeated cheers which waited upon the close of each balanced period. You armed yourself with all the cunning of your tongue, with all the stateliness of gesture, with all the inalienable sanctity which surrounds the position of a Viceroy, to awake, by misrepresentation of the efforts of men

not less honest than yourself, a sentiment of opposition and dislike in the hearts of those you were addressing.

It may be that I have over-estimated the importance which men will place upon your effort. But, if I am not wrong, your speech will inaugurate a new era of resistance and discontent, will give a fresh starting-point to racial jealousy and contempt, and will, accordingly, indefinitely multiply and aggravate the difficulties of governing the Empire. Such is your legacy to Lord Lansdowne! Where we have expected the most scrupulous good faith, you have given us reason to complain of serious misstatement. You have imputed to the adherents of the National Congress intentions which do not exist and statements which have never been made. We cheerfully accord you the right to form and publish what opinions you please. But not even a step in the Peerage entitles you to publish that which is not. You will have a host of potty imitators who will plead your inaccuracy in justification for their own. And, in your successful effort at the Calcutta Dinner to array the rulers against the ruled, men like Sir Lepel Griffin will find at once their apology and their vindication. Luminares of the first magnitude like Sir Auckland Colvin will cite you for precedent. Lesser stars in the official firmament will follow you with thoughtless zeal; while your high authority will be urged by boy editors who

Mistake two soft excrescences for horns,  
And butting all they meet with awkward pains  
Lay bare their forehead, and—their brains,

as sufficient explanation to the public of the causes for this startling revelation.

You stand charged, my Lord, with misrepresentation of the Congress views. I leave it to you to show whether this was intentional or not. If it was not, you are guilty of negligence so culpable that no condemnation could be too severe. If it was, I prefer to leave your conduct to the estimate of the civilized world and to that Supreme Being whose name you are yourself so ready to invoke. You have alleged that the Congress is anxious to apply to India "democratic methods of government and the adoption of a Parliamentary system which England has only reached by slow degrees and through the discipline of many centuries of preparation." I meet your Lordship with a direct denial. The Congress has never sought to apply democratic methods of government to India. The Congress has

IV — "That this Congress is of opinion that, in giving practical effect to this essential reform, regard should be had (*subject to such modifications as, on a more detailed examination of the question, may commend themselves to the Government*) to the principles embodied in the following tentative suggestions —

(1) "The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one half the members of such enlarged Councils to be elected. Not more than one fourth to be officials, having seats, *ex officio*, in such Councils, and not more than one fourth to be members, official or non official, nominated by Government.

(2) "The right to elect members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, *prima facie* capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay the Councillors may be elected by the members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras the Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce and the University, or by Electoral Colleges composed of members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. In the North West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab, Councillors may be elected by an Electoral College composed of members elected by Municipal and District Boards, and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number, by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force, where Municipal Boards are concerned, will be applied to District Boards, and the right of electing members to these latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted (*and the details must be worked out separately for each province*), care must be taken that all sections of the community, and all great interests, are adequately represented.

(3) "The elected members of the Council of the Governor General for making Laws to be elected by the elected members of the several Provincial Councils.

(4) "No elected or nominated member of any Council to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such membership, but any such member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same unchanged during membership, and all members to be entitled to be reimbursed any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their membership.

(5) "All persons, resident in India, to be eligible for seats in Council, whether as electees or nominees, without distinction of race, creed, caste or colour.

(6) "All legislative measures and all financial questions, including all Budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to, and dealt with by these Councils. In the case of all other branches of the administration, any member to be at liberty, after due notice, to put any question he sees fit to the *ex-officio* members (or such one of these as may be specially charged with the supervision

of the particular branch concerned), and to be entitled (except as hereinafter provided) to receive a reply to his question, together with copies of any papers requisite for the thorough comprehension of the subject; and on this reply, the Council to be at liberty to consider and discuss the question and record thereon such resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. *Provided that, if the subject, in regard to which the inquiry is made, involves matters of foreign policy, military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that, in the opinion of the Executive, the public interest would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the ex-officio members, or one of them, to reply accordingly, and decline to furnish the information asked for.*

(7) *"The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council in every case in which, in its opinion, the public interests would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; but whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary, shall be published within one month, and, in the case of Local Governments, they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and, in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State, and in any such case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the third resolution of last year's Congress, which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any, and all, papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House."*

This resolution was proposed by Mr. Surendranath Banerji of Calcutta; seconded by Mr. N. J. Chandavarkar of Bombay; and supported by Mr. Sharaf-ud-din of Behar. It was carried unanimously in a house of 436 delegates.

At the Third Congress of 1887 the second resolution was thus worded. —"Resolved: That this Congress re-affirms the necessity for the expansion and reform of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, already set forth in Resolution III of the Congress of 1885 and 1886, and expresses the earnest hope that the Government will no longer delay action in the direction of this essential reform." This was proposed by Mr. Surendranath Banerji of Calcutta; seconded by Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, KCSI (Madras); and supported by Mr. P. Somasundrum Chettiar (Madras). It was carried unanimously in a house of 607 delegates.

I would call your Lordship's attention to the passages italicised in the above extracts. They prove—(1) that the reform asked for is reform of

General and Governors,"—if your Lordship relies upon this extract, I would point out that this is not the authoritative exposition of its views by the Congress, and that, in stating what the Congress wants, your Lordship is bound to quote what the Congress says. That is to be found in the resolutions and nowhere else. The "Catechism" has been published in the Congress Report because it was considered desirable that all the world should know the means we employ to secure our ends. The author of the "Catechism" has stated his personal views. I sympathise with him fully, and I trust that as Indians fit themselves more completely for effective control, they will receive that control more completely, until, in the years to come, India may be governed by something which shall bear a real resemblance to the Parliamentary system of England. But that is not what the Congress is asking for to-day. What the "Catechism" foreshadows is representative government. What the Congress asks for is partially representative Councils. What the Congress asks for is the right to criticise the Budget. In this point it is in complete accord with the Chambers of Commerce of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. The representations of these Chambers have met with no reproof at your Lordship's hands. Rebuke is reserved solely for Indians. Your Lordship invites a comparison of your unequal treatment of England's Indian and European subjects. The solution of any difference of opinion between the Government and the Legislative Council is left to the discretion of the House of Commons. Will your Lordship point out how this translates power from the European to the Indian? The ultimate authority now is an English Secretary of State. The ultimate authority as proposed will be a body of English gentlemen. The only difference will be that now the views of the Government prevail without debate, whereas, in the future, it is suggested, they should be accepted after full and impartial inquiry. I can see nothing in this to terrify the most sensitive alarmist. I can see less to justify the application to those who support the Congress of such names as traitor, renegade, or riff raff. There is nothing treasonable in the principle that an appeal should lie from the authorities in India to the authorities at home. The proposed change in the constitution of that appellate tribunal is due to a strongly held belief that the machinery at the disposal of the Secretary of State is cumbrous, expensive, unsympathetic, and useless. But the principle of appeal has long obtained. In matters judicial Her Majesty's Privy Council holds the keys of power. In matters administrative and executive, even the Secretary of State has sometimes been known to uphold

a suit suspended or dismissed by the Government of India. On the merits, why should your Lordship recoil at the bare thought that the taxpayers of this country should have some voice in the control of their own finance? What is there in the proposal to fan suspicion or awake alarm? It is not opposed to natural justice. It is a system long recognised by all nations not governed upon a system of pure despotism. Your Lieutenant, Sir Auckland Colvin, fearlessly asserts that despotism is a misnomer for the administration of India. Then, why such panic? A just and economic financial control need shrink from no inquiry. If our monies are not wasted, our revenues not squandered, why fear a measure that will applaud your policy: and while it shares with you the difficulties of imposing taxation, will enhance by its support whatever of glory and wisdom can be credited to your manipulation of the National Exchequer? Or, are they right who detect beneath the sound of your long drawn roll of self-congratulation that one false note which tells of opposition evoked and fomented by the pangs of guilty conscience? Or, is the truth with those others who assert that your censure of financial reform is promoted by the fear that public criticism will arrest the lavish expenditure upon Self? Are you in arms because you do not desire we should drag forth from your imperial cupboard the skeletons of useless conquest and the ghosts of famines unprovided for? Or, are you haunted by the dread that the people's friends, once clothed with the garments of representation, will protest against, until they check, that waste of public money which, by way of illustration, permits your Lordship annually to misappropriate £40,000 for your exodus to Simla, and allows your Lordship's subordinates for seven months in the year, at our cost,

to lie reclined

On the hills like gods together, careless of mankind?

You speak yourself, my Lord, of the "great attainments and intelligence" of Indian gentlemen who surround you on all sides. You dilate upon their "heartly, loyal, and honest co-operation." You admit that "their advice, assistance, and solidarity are essential to the successful exercise of the functions of an administration so peculiarly situated" as your own. You profess "approval of their natural ambition to be more extensively associated with their English rulers in the administration of their own domestic affairs." You express the hope that you "may be permitted to extend and to place upon a wider and more logical footing the political status"



which Lord Halifax gave this country a generation ago. And yet when this same intelligence comes before your Lordship with a petition which embodies no crude and hasty day-dream, but a measure carefully planned out and anxiously considered, your reply is that you cannot yield to the ambitions of this "microscopic minority." You first misquote their prayer, and then lend the sanction of your approval to those who stigmatize them as guilty of sedition. Are your speeches only elegant examples of poetry in prose? Are they sincere when they treat of honesty of your subjects, or are they fashioned only to

"Bring in pomp laborious nothings home"?

You inform us you have made certain recommendations to the Secretary of State. If they are based, my Lord, on representations as accurate as those in your Calcutta speech, alas! for your candour and for our success! But if they proceed upon any honest intention to breathe life into the mumblings of our Legislative Councils, I would ask you, in recollection of your own public utterances, what reform can there be of any practical value to the educated communities of India which divorces their position from the right to press their dissent? If you are earnest in your wish to associate them with yourself in the administration of their own domestic affairs, what, my Lord, do you consider of greater moment in connection with domestic matters than the right to spend the public money on their *development*? Do questions of sanitation, of police, and of judicial reform, of the better adjustment of taxation, of the encouragement of indigenous art, of the spread of technical instruction and the continued increase of general education,—do these, and questions such as these, fall within or outside the scope of domestic affairs? And if they do, how are we effectively to devote ourselves to the practical consideration of such matters if we are to remain pauperised by want of means? Pauperised we unquestionably are, and shall continue to be, unless and until we can either ourselves directly assist in the control of the revenue, or are in a position to check the reckless extravagance of the Government of India by the right of appeal to an intelligent and unbiassed Court in England. Your St. Andrew's speech is rich, as usual, towards its close in empty sympathy with your subjects' wants. But it is easy to detect the mournful fact that its foundations rest upon suspicion of the people. You anticipate remonstrance and conjure up wide differences of opinion, because although your Liberalism can sustain you to the extent of giving Mr. Gladstone a silver bowl, it fails you when you find yourself face to face with

ambitions of the Congress your Lordship's actions with your words. I am reminded of a sentiment which was a favourite with Dr Primrose. That excellent Vicar once said — 'I was ever of opinion that the honest man who married and brought up a large family did more service than he who continued single and only talked of population.' Your Lordship has frequently paraphrased the philosophy of that principle. But there is this difference between Dr Primrose and yourself. He practised what he preached. You do not. Goldsmith's hero married. Your Lordship is still politically single.

Once your Lordship had fairly planted your inaccurate dissection of the views of Congress upon your audience, it was easy and natural to draw from false premises a series of false inferences. But after all due allowance for quacks' and 'haggis' galore, your Lordship must have been very sure of your hosts to advance through an army of minor misrepresentations to your absolutely wanton attack upon Mr Hume. You availed yourself of your high official dignity and the security of your position to give a man who was not present a foul blow. You knew that Mr Hume was an English gentleman by birth and education and a retired Civil Servant, whose long and meritorious services his Queen had acknowledged and distinguished by the conferment of a C B. You knew that Mr Hume had held high and responsible office and you knew that he had been offered and had refused a Lieutenant Governorship. You knew also my Lord, what he had said. I quote from his letter to the *Pioneer* of the 24th November 1887. It was this —

To continue—Mr Beck's assertions (which perhaps he conceives to be argument) in support of this monstrous proposition of his, are as untenable as is the proposition itself. He says, 'the English educated class does not at present hold in its hands the keys of the magazines of physical force in this country. They have no control over the Native Army, nor over those classes of warlike peasantry which form the inflammable material of the country.' Now, in the first place no one ever dreamt of the representation being based on the English educated class. Every one confidently expects that the system which will be sanctioned by the Government, will be far more perfect and not less perfect than that under which our National Congresses assemble. Yet, even under our present imperfect tentative system the English educated class does not constitute one-fiftieth of the persons directly represented. Great stress is laid upon all the representatives understanding English because this is now the true *lingua franca* of the Empire, and Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Guzerati, Marhatti, Sindhi, Punjabi, Urdu, Persian, Hindi, Bengali, Assamese and Urah speakers can here all meet on a common basis, and yet at the last Congress there were many delegates and even several

speakers who were only acquainted with their own vernaculars. If we take the Provincial Standing Congress Committees (to say nothing of sub-committees and representatives) comprising some 97 members fully one-third of these are not English educated men, and in the lower grades of the organisation the English educated are the exceptions. But the large body of more or less educated (not English educated) men who are at this moment supporting the movement, do hold in their hands the keys of a good many magazines of physical force, *though they are not going to put those keys in the locks*.

"As for the Native Army, every sepoy and native officer has a home, and often visits it on leave and furlough and every one of them could be got at without the slightest difficulty, and (the facts of the case are so plain, and simple, and irrefutable) converted to the views held by the great mass of his educated and half-educated countrymen. In two years the great bulk of the Native Army could be converted into sound politicians and strong supporters of the reform movement. But the policy of our leaders has always been opposed to any action that could possibly incline the Government to suspect the perfect loyalty of our agitation and, therefore, not only has this not been attempted but native officers on leave, who were desirous of taking part in demonstrations connected with the work of the national party, have been discouraged and advised, *so long as they remain in the army*, to leave politics alone, and content themselves with loyally obeying their lawful superiors.

That statement you had either read or you had not. If you had read it you were in honour bound to quote it correctly. If you had not, you were in honour bound not to convey the impression that you had. But your Lordship is not above the vulgar appetite for applause. The temptation to excite a cheer overcame your recollection of your virtue. And you stooped, my Lord, not for the first time that night, to the degradation of inaccurate reproduction. You charge a man not less honourable than yourself, and certainly not less zealous than your Lordship in his anxiety to impose upon all public progress the constitutional limitations of argument and persuasion, with having threatened the authorities with his present forbearance to carry his schemes by violence and bloodshed. Here are your words —

Not is the silly threat of one of the chief officers—the principal Secretary, I believe—of the Congress that he and his Congress friends hold in their hands the keys, not only of a popular insurrection but of a military revolt calculated to restore our confidence in their discretion even when accompanied by the assurance that they do not intend for the present to put those keys into the locks. (Loud applause)

If your version is correct, it is due to Mr Hume that you should point out to him your source of information. If it be incorrect you are bound,

minority of the service you direct. The relation of one Civilian to about every 250,000 Indians does not seem to predispose your Lordship to contempt that you reserve for the Indians. Even if the "vowed" adherents of the Congress represented no one but themselves, a statesman's sagacity should be able to discern in the huge body of educated Indians a useful and formidable ally for the better government of the Empire. You admit that "they know the ways and habits of the people, they know the nature of their occupations, they know their needs." There surely are qualifications for a share in the government if as your Lordship adds, they are "loyal and patriotic." Empty phrases these, my Lord, unless you have the prudence of your conviction and turn for help for knowledge, and for support to those most deeply interested in the successful administration of their country and themselves.

You have, we know, travelled through the land. We know also how much real information you are likely to acquire thereby at first hand from the people themselves. Had I my doubts upon the subject your Lordship's St. Andrew's Speech would have removed them. Distinguished persons within the meaning of your Lordship's reference, are not usually calculated to enlighten authority upon popular wants, for the reason that authority elevates the unknown into the "distinguished" and the principles of such elevation do not pretend to be based upon any system of merit. But if your Lordship had condescended to talk with people whose claims to knowledge and candour rested upon facts and not titles your Lordship would have made the great discovery that ninety nine hundredths of Indian intelligence strongly espouse the main principles of the National Congress. Has your Lordship ever spoken frankly to the Maharaja of Darbhanga, who is no whit behind any Indian prince in patriotism, intelligence and generosity, to Sir T. Madhava Rao, 'distinguished' both in your Lordship's sense and mine, to Mr. Badruddin Tyabji, to Mr. Telang, Mr. V. N. Mandlik, to Mr. R. M. Srinani, to Mr. Pheroze Shah Mehta, to Mr. Chandavarkur, to Mr. Dinshaw E. Wacha, to Mr. Rish Behary Ghose, to Mr. Minomohun Ghose, to Mr. Bonnerjee, to Mr. Ranado, to Mr. Narojee, to Mr. Subramaniam Iyer, to Mr. Ananda Charlu, to Mr. Ramasamy Moodliar and others far too numerous to mention, 'distinguished' in my sense and not in your Lordship's? With tomes of information, all uncut ready to your hand, your Lordship prefers the limited circle of those who would not deserve your Lordship's sympathy and support if they were not primed with views and facts to meet your Lordship's wants.

my Lord, by every principle of fair play and common honesty, to retract and apologize for an assault which is as cowardly as it is coarse. It is not by artifices such as these that you will damp the ardour of the Congress adherents. Nor by devices so unworthy will you induce Englishmen to believe that the cause of native progress is disentitled to support. A case must be bad and a defence weak which trust for success to tricks so base as these. We have used against you and those who are behind you nothing but fair argument. If the heat of controversy has sometimes given rise to expressions which exceed the fair limits of courtesy, we regret it, and will make atonement. But though we have no Lieutenant-Governors on whom to lean, nor look for sympathy to the representative of Her Majesty in India, we are sufficiently proud and sufficiently confident of the cause we plead not to sully it or ourselves with any wilful or careless perversion of the truth. You call what you say "plain speaking," my Lord, and you plead the voice of duty. Your speaking is so "plain that some of us may well shudder at its hideousness. And as for duty, I can only say with deep regret that your conception of your obligations to your neighbour does not tally with that which I believe prevails among the majority of moral and educated English gentlemen. And, since the proud man often is the mean, you sowed a slander in the common ear. You have given a fresh fillip to the National Congress. To the common conviction which binds us all in the one strong belief that the reforms we urge are those to which we are entitled, as well by reason of past pledges as by those great laws of nature and philosophy which must overcome the most stubborn of human resistance, your Lordship has now added a new reason why the members of the Congress, European and Native alike, should rally with increased gratitude round the figure of Mr. Hume. Your Lordship has traduced him. We are not more likely to forget his splendid services on our behalf when we see the gentle and patient courtesy with which he met your Lordship's shameful charge. No European in India before you spoke held such control as Mr. Hume over Indian hearts. Your Lordship's speech will seat him more firmly in their love.

Your Lordship sneers at the "microscopic minority" of those who advocate the Congress. In what relation does the handful of the English Executive in this country stand numerically to the population? In a minority, compared with which the relative minority of the Congress party becomes a huge majority. Yet your Lordship does not sneer at the

minority of the service you direct. The relation of one Civilian to about every 250,000 Indians does not seem to predispose your Lordship to contempt that you reserve for the Indians. Even if the 'vowed' adherents of the Congress represented no one but themselves, a statesman's sagacity should be able to discern in the huge body of educated Indians a useful and formidable ally for the better government of the Empire. You admit that they know the ways and habits of the people, they know the nature of their occupations, they know their needs." There surely are qualifications for a share in the government if as your Lordship adds, they are "loyal and patriotic." Empty phrases these, my Lord, unless you have the prudence of your conviction and turn for help for knowledge, and for support to those most deeply interested in the successful administration of their country and themselves.

You have, we know, travelled through the land. We know also how much real information you are likely to acquire thereby at first hand from the people themselves. Had I my doubts upon the subject, your Lordship's St. Andrew's Speech would have removed them. Distinguished persons within the meaning of your Lordship's reference, are not usually calculated to enlighten authority upon popular wants, for the reason that authority elevates the unknown into the distinguished and the principles of such elevation do not pretend to be based upon any system of merit. But if your Lordship had condescended to talk with people whose claims to knowledge and candour rested upon facts and not titles your Lordship would have made the great discovery that ninety nine hundredths of Indian intelligence strongly espouse the main principles of the National Congress. Has your Lordship ever spoken frankly to the Maharaja of Darbhanga, who is no whit behind any Indian prince in patriotism, intelligence and generosity to Sir T. Madhava Rao, 'distinguished' both in your Lordship's sense and mine, to Mr. Budruddin Tyabji to Mr. Telang, Mr. V. N. Mandlik to Mr. R. M. Sivan, to Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta, to Mr. Chandavkar, to Mr. Dinshaw E. Wacha, to Mr. Rash Behari Ghose to Mr. Manmohan Ghose to Mr. Bonnerjee to Mr. Ranade, to Mr. Nivrojce to Mr. Subramanyam Iyer, to Mr. Ananda Churlu, to Mr. Ramasamy Mudaliar and others far too numerous to mention, distinguished in my sense and not in your Lordship's? With tomes of information, all uncut ready to your hand, your Lordship prefers the limited circle of those who would not deserve your Lordship's sympathy and support if they were not primed with views and facts to meet your Lordship's wants,

Ye think the rustic cackle of your bourg  
The murmur of the world,

and Viceroys<sup>1</sup> proceed to legislate and act as though the Taluqdars of Oudh fairly represented the consensus of native ambition, and all loyalty was fashioned upon the model of the Raja of Bhinga's:

Your Lordship can spare us a recapitulation of [the 'great nobles' who have sent in their adherence to your views. We are well posted up in that department. We do not desire any reproduction of that list of titled vacuity. But we should like to know something of that other section of the 'leading' people of India who from the ranks of the "professional and leisured" classes confer upon your Lordship's *critique* the boon of their approval and regard. The information would be relished by those who believe that in all India there are not a half-a-dozen intelligent men who have not thrown in their lot with the work originated and carried on by their countrymen.

Your Lordship's perusal of Congress literature is at the best superficial. It is evident that you rely greatly on the *brochure* of Sir Auckland Colvin. You speak of Congress publications, "animated by a very questionable spirit and whose manifest intention is to excite the hatred of the people against the public servants of the Crown in this country." The spirit of that remark is in keeping with Sir Auckland Colvin's strictures. And as your Lordship quotes your subordinate with approval, so Sir Auckland's subordinates will quote him with approval, to be quoted, in turn, themselves by their inferiors with approval. There is no occasion for surprise. It is only an exemplification of that law of nature whereby

Big fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite 'em,  
And little lesser fleas have fleas, and so ad infinitum

The great demerit of your criticism is, that it is not correct. Members of the Congress have published nothing of which they are either ashamed or afraid. They have never intended to hold up your Executive to the hatred of the people. They have merely done that which they are entitled to do. They have plainly exhibited the defects of the Government. Without this portraiture, reform could not proceed. Change can only be justified on the proved existence of present inconveniences. If the Executive were perfect there would be no room for advance. Upon its imperfection the plea of progress leans. And, in the language of Sidney Smith, "it is quite obvious to all who are capable of reflection, that by no other means than

by lowering the Government in the estimation of the people can there be hope or chance of beneficial change. That we should need to lower you is our misfortune. Our ability to do so is your fault.

Your Lordship waxes eloquent over the misdirected energies of the Congress whose admitted abilities you would prefer to see engaged upon social reform. I can quite understand the eagerness of authority to turn the keenness of public criticism from itself. Undoubtedly your prerogatives would be longer lived if the people would bestow upon questions of widow re marriage and polluted drinking water that consideration which they are bestowing by preference upon the autocracy of the Government and the scandalous waste of public money. Your Lordship would smile with ceaseless benignity upon a nation engaged in vilifying itself and not the authorities. You would even encourage the process, and laugh in your sleeve at the denunciations which you had averted from your own head. We are grateful to your Lordship for the suggestion. But we elect to turn our batteries on the system which, in the choice diction of Lord Lytton, enables your Government to "cheat the Indian people of their unquestioned rights: we prefer to arraign the *fons et origo malorum* which is answerable for the misappropriation of the public revenues, we choose to be heard, in the first instance, against a Government which permits its officials to exercise some taste and discretion in the selection of Indian women for European soldiery, in a word, we desire to pluck the beam from your eye before operating upon the mote in our own. The people are quite sensible of their private faults, and they believe rightly enough, that with an increased share in the administration of their own concerns will come an increased power to remedy their own defects. Chronic indebtedness to a money lender may be a grievous fault. But I do not see that it is more culpable than the chronic indebtedness of your Government as represented by your public loans. Every one regrets the waste of money on marriage ceremonies among the natives. Is there no national extravagance at home on wives' and women's dresses? To drink the water in which you bathe is most distressing. But is there no filth amid vast proportions of the population of English cities? Yet is political reform made to stand aside in the old country until a perfected education has stamped out vice, is the extension of the franchise deferred until the criminal population shall elect to attend church on Sundays in their best attire? Your criticisms, my Lord, are mere pleas for delay. A busy pretext to put off any diminution of your power.



The truth is, my Lord, that you have fallen a victim to the subtle influences of your environment. The old muscularity of your mind has yielded to the fumes of official incense, you are bordering on the belief, formulated so succinctly by a member of the Civil Service here, that "God made the white man and the Devil made the black." You are effeminate in your distrust of the people. Yet you retain enough of the statesman we all so admired of yore to be ashamed to give explicit utterance to a doctrine out of tune with all that makes a man a man. Thus it is you flounder in inconsistencies, giving vent at one time to a declaration which is in keeping with your past reputation, at another to a statement worthy only of a Bushi Bazook. The picture is most pitiful to those who see you "fallen from your high estate." To you was accorded a chance not given many men of directing and consolidating a great Empire of new energies. You have thrown it away. Between your speech and your performance I see something of that difference which Canning painted in the portrait of the philosopher who interviewed the needy knife-grinder. Like him, my Lord, you have been profuse in your expressions of sympathy. And like him you have turned from the object of your compassion at the first hint of real relief.

I give thee sixpence! I'll see thee damned first!

You have made your final bow, my Lord, upon the great stage of the Indian Empire. "Tis mercy bids thee go." For though we all pity and many of us believe, that in the invigorating stimulus here of a colder climate and amid those moral surroundings which give backbone to the sentiments of an English politician, you will regain that virility of understanding which marked your administration of Canada as an epoch of such peculiar brilliancy, we cannot conscientiously avow that your departure is premature. You have succumbed to the flatteries of your office. In Rome or in London may be restored to you the lost vigour of your political manhood. Here it has parted company with you. In proportion to our previous admiration for your great qualities will be our regret that you had not earlier recognised your failing strength.

*Solite senescentem mature sanus equum ne  
Peccet ad extremum ride idus*

I beg to remain, my Lord Marquis,  
Your Lordship's obedient servant,  
EARDLEY NORTON.

## THE MADRAS STANDING CONGRESS COMMITTEE'S RECEPTION

[On 22nd November 1883 a grand public meeting was held to welcome and do honor to Mr E Norton for his valuable services in England on behalf of the Congress. The big Patcheappa Hall was overcrowded and found too small to contain the audience. Some twenty telegrams were received from different parts of Presidency expressing the confidence in Mr E Norton and joining in welcoming him. Mr D S White, of the Eurasian Association presided. Mr White after alluding to the services of Mr John Bruce Norton the illustrious father of Mr E Norton said that Mr Norton was following in the footsteps of his distinguished father and was doing to the country in which he had settled even more valuable services than those of his father. Mr Eardley Norton who rose amidst great cheering then addressed the meeting.]

MR CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—The welcome, which you have accorded me, has greatly touched me, and gone very near my heart. I regard your manifestation to night as the best reward a man can seek who endeavours to discharge his public duty, and who, in the interests of the people of India, attempts to convey, not without some personal sacrifice and peril, their views and aspirations to the intelligences of the people of England. It has repeatedly been said that the Natives of India are incapable of feeling or exhibiting gratitude. I wish those who hold and promulgate this opinion, would be present to-night so that they might modify their conclusions by the light of a welcome, which is most valuable to me, because I could not purchase its warmth or its magnitude by the bestowal of medals and titles, or by the potent promise of favors to come. (Cheers) I am glad that this meeting is presided over by a citizen so worthy and estimable as our good friend, Mr White. (Cheers) I appreciate his presence, for he knows what is to fight a long and irksome battle for a peoples' sake; and I am proud to speak under the auspices of a man whose moral courage has been tried and proved, who knows what he wants, and has the courage to ask for it, and who a month it would be as impossible to subvert as it is impossible to hunt mine. (Cheers) And I am more than glad to meet you in this splendid hall the scene of many a political gathering in the days gone by, full to me of many loving and tender recollections of my early youth. Here, in olden times, when a kindness and a larger sympathy it would seem impelled the Europeans to plead as we are pleading to-day the cause of Native reform—here, many a time have I seen my father, whose portrait on yonder wall encourages me to persevere in the path in which he so assiduously labored (cheers) speak before an audience as large as this,

but more plentifully besprinkled than to-day with English gentlemen, of that increasing education with its attendant results which have now taken definite shape in the concrete entity of our National Congress. (Loud cheers) I have seen a Governor in the chair. (Cheers.) I trust we may all live to see repetition of such a phenomenon. (Laughter.) In the times of which I speak the Europeans of Madras seem to me to have been possessed of greater honesty in the expression of their opinions than are their successors of to-day. (Cheers)

I am before you to-night, at the invitation of the Standing Committee of our Congress, and I am grieved to see that our worthy co-laborer, Sir Madhava Rao, has made himself conspicuous by his absence on this occasion (laughter and cheers) to give you some account of what I was enabled to do on your behalf in England in conjunction with Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji and Mr. Bonnerji. It was quite by accident that we three happened to be simultaneously in London. An accident which I think we contrived to turn to happy account on behalf of India. (Cheers.) I wish you to recollect the circumstances under which I ventured while at home to state your case to the public. On my arrival in London, I found awaiting me a number of letters from various Standing Committees throughout India, all of which asked me to avail myself of my visit to try and make the people in England understand something of the conditions under which the people of India live ; to endeavour, by a statement of the truth, to clear away the mists of ignorance which in England enshroud all things Indian ; and to attempt by an explanation of the ends at which we aim, and of the means which we have adopted, to arouse on behalf of those who live and labor here some sentiment of compassion and some promise of redress (Loud cheers.) That was the mission entrusted to me. And I accepted it. I never pretended to represent a Congress which was *non est*. (Laughter.) I never posed as the mouth-piece of millions. (Laughter.) I did no more than I was told to do. I did no less. I was asked to tell my countrymen of the disadvantages under which you labor, of the political system under which your energies are cramped and your legitimate ambitions curtailed and smothered. I was not asked to convey this instruction as the accredited agent of the Congress, but as an ordinarily intelligent Englishman who, living among you, has had opportunities for personal observation, and who sympathising with the great awakening of thought and sentiment which even

in its infancy reveals to all well-balanced intelligences, the most hopeful promise of union of culture and of reform (cheers) is filled with an intense anxiety that that awakening should be under loyal and honest control, and should result not only to the benefit of India, but in a closer and more sympathetic acceptance of the rule of England (Cheers) It is for you to say whether I have done well It is for you to express approval of my acts. The judgment of the Congress is free to act as it elects I have not pledged, I have not hampered it. The Congress is not bound by any act of mine. It may repudiate me, it may disavow my action But I shall, indeed, have misread the indications of popular opinion, I shall, indeed, have misjudged the public wants if I do not find consolation for gross personal abuse and the most malicious misrepresentation of motive, in the belief that the education and intelligence of Native India will unanimously ratify and approve my co-operation on its behalf. (Loud cheers.) I thank you for those cheers In London, as I have said, I met Mr Nowroji and Mr. Bonnerji. Few of the sons of India are better educated in the best sense of that term than your able and charming fellow-countrymen, once Standing Counsel to the Government of India. (Cheers.) I know no one of a keener intellect, of a gentler, sweeter disposition (Cheers.) I know no one who is more fitted than Mr Bonnerji to take rank, to be recognized, and to be amongst the highest and most cultivated leaders of your great national movement (Cheers.) He is rich not merely in gifts of brain which enable him to hold his own in the polished circles of English society. He is rich in gifts of heart (cheers) and in all those thousand-and-one little characteristics which go to make up the sum total of a true gentleman (Loud cheers.) On your behalf he has made sacrifices which entitle him to your gratitude He has devoted time, and labor, and energy, and talent to your cause. (Cheers.) All the earnestness of a deep and sympathetic native he has placed at your disposal (Cheers.) Above all, he has liberally opened his purse-strings to your call. (Cheers.) Such a man is worthy of your highest honor Under such a man I am proud to serve. (Loud cheers.) I will say little as to Mr Nowroji, for the simple reason that the name and character of that veteran champion of India's rights speak for themselves (cheers), and command the attention and respect they so well deserve. (Cheers.) He is an old and trained gladiator in a service in which Mr. Bonnerji and I are comparatively recruits. (Cheers.) Surely it was a happy chance that permitted Calcutta, Bombay and Madras to be represented in London! Whatever may be said of ourselves, the sister

Presidences, at least, need feel no shame for the men who, in their behoof, have put their spears in rest (Cheers) Mr Bonnerji, I found, had been in his own modest fashion (laughter) quietly laboring to diffuse something of his own knowledge of Indian affairs. On my arrival this quiet propagandism changed its character. I suppose I am more combustible (laughter), more full of gunpowder, and "go off" more easily (laughter), but I managed to drag Mr Bonnerji from the mild amusement of his rural lectures into the fiercer glare of a public platform (Laughter and cheers) And I think you owe me some gratitude for that feat (Laughter) It is not everybody who goes home who can secure an audience. But we were able to get that initial introduction, after which the success of a cause depends chiefly upon its inherent virtues and the merit of its advocates. Now, I see it stated as matter for reproach, that we have allied ourselves with the Liberal, if not the Radical party. That association has been in some quarters condemned. It has been said that India and Indian questions ought to be treated on the broad united policy of both parties, Liberal and Conservative, and should not be dragged into the arena of a purely party-question. Gentlemen, there is great efficacy in that "ought." The criticism is admirable in the way of theory. But try to put it into practice. Go home, and endeavour for ourselves to appeal to both sides of the House of Commons to show an equal interest in Indian reform, and then come back and tell me the measure of your success. I agree thoroughly in the proposition that India should not be made a party question and I trust that when our wants have been ventilated, and our petition known, Englishmen as Englishmen, irrespective of party politics, will unite to give us some sensible quantum of relief (Cheers) But the problem is, how to reach the great mass of the people, who really control both parties. And I, within the period of my stay in England, saw not the faintest symptom in the Conservative party of taking any interest in Indian affairs, nor any desire to make itself acquainted with the philosophy of the movement, which shrewder heads than mine view with all the interest of a political *Renaissance*. I would as gladly have spoken on a Conservative as on a Liberal platform. I will take, and be grateful for, assistance from any party (Laughter.) Concession will be just as sweet to you whether it comes from the Liberal or from the Conservative camp. But whatever the reason, though we had plenty of invitations from Liberal Clubs, no Conservative manifested the faintest desire to become acquainted with the wonderful problem, that is working itself out in India. We were,

therefore, driven to the Liberals I do not say this by way of apology, but only by way of explanation For I am Liberal myself not like Sir Auckland Colvin in the official camp, whatever that may mean (laughter,) but a Liberal who, unlike that distinguished satrap, trusts the people (cheers), whose gradual emancipation he affects to contemplate with satisfaction (cheers), and who not only sees no danger in permitting popular opinion to have its due weight in the Legislative Councils of this Empire (cheers), but regards, its introduction as an additional pledge for the continuity of English supremacy in India, (cheers), and its denial or delay as a refutation of the principles which the Liberal party avow, as a distinct violation of promises made by Queen and Parliament at home (cheers), and as the most pressing proof of the inability of the officials in this country to keep pace with the strides of growing thought and civilization, and to subordinate the interests of their service to the ever increasing requirements of the country (Loud cheers) I am not ashamed, therefore, of the help which the Liberals of England are giving to the Liberals of India. But it is right that you should know how and why our connection has been brought about (Hear, hear) We have been twitted by Conservatives with dragging India into party polemics. Who first dethroned India from her pedestal of a National question? Why, the Conservative party themselves. (Cheers.) And the person primarily responsible for this was Lord Randolph Churchill—a politician whose talents at this moment are obscured by a little cloud (Laughter) That versatile combination of democrat and Tory (laughter) finally broke down the barriers which fenced India from party assault when he introduced into the House of Commons as Secretary of State for India the financial statement for 1884 85 and the estimate for 1885 86 And this is how the *Saturday Review*, one of the organs of that party which asserts itself to monopolize all the honesty, all the purity, and all the ability of political life (laughter) comments upon Lord Randolph's action 'It is we know the fashion of Indian administrators to insist on the severance of Indian administrations from questions of party politics

Now that the pressure of constituencies is exerted before any question receives due consideration in the House" mark well that sentence, gentlemen, and ask yourselves whether it does not justify the lines upon which we are pushing your claims in England—"It is more than all requisite that India should be brought into the arena of party politics. Lord Randolph Churchill was perfectly right in importing into his financial statement party and somewhat personal arguments." Let us hear no more

from this party of extreme self-righteousness of the impropriety of making India a party question. Let it be quite clear that I do not desire to do this. But also let it be equally clear that we will not refuse help from the Liberals and wait till the Conservatives are prepared to assist us, any more than we will allow matters of instant reform in India to be postponed till Mr Beck shall have taught Sir Syed Ahmed to talk sense and the Rajah of Bhinga to write it. (Loud laughter and cheers) Once our action was decided upon, the only difficulty was where to begin. We received many invitations to speak, and we finally opened the ball in Leicestershire. It was no fault of ours that we opened on a Liberal platform. We were most hospitably received by Mr Ellis, a staunch Liberal, a Justice of the Peace, and cousin to the gentleman of the same name who sits in Parliament. Mr. Bonnerji and I were made free of Mr Ellis's beautiful old house, and I was glad to see that English gentlemen in England extend to Native gentlemen of India a courtesy and a hospitality which is denied here. (Cheers) I have never been able to understand why we practice a different method in England in our treatment of Native gentlemen to that which we practice here. At home, Mr. Bonnerji, who is a gentleman, was treated as such. (Cheers.) In India we treat him and others like him as if they were leprous. (Laughter) But neither Mr Ellis at Leicester, nor Dr Spencer-Watson at Newcastle, were depressed by any idea that Mr Bonnerji should be shut out from communion with themselves or the ladies of their family. (Cheers) And it was delightful to me to note how, like a moral tonic, the courtesies of gentle life invigorated the constitution of my kind and dear friend, Mr Bonnerji. (Cheers.) I wish, with all my heart, we could see a similar experience in India. (Cheers) It was, I admit, a novel sensation to me to speak, at a meeting convened for Mr Logan, the Liberal candidate for the first time, to an audience, who, unlike yourselves, possessed the great power of a vote. They were struck by the statement that not the poorest, humblest among themselves, but possessed in the mighty engine of the ballot, a more direct influence upon the destinies of 250 millions of people in India than any of the people themselves, who send such an enormous annual contribution to England, or than I who live and labor here. (Cheers) We were greeted there with kindly cheers; cheers which venture to place this interpretation upon that they meant more than the hospitable welcome of a host to his guest: that they meant that the intelligence of your condition was a revolution for the first time of a state of things never before believed to exist;

that they meant that the people of England will not turn a deaf ear to your just and temperate appeal for help (Cheers) The applause we elicited was the applause that comes from pity and conviction: pity that we have no share in the framing of our own laws, no voice in the adjustment of our own taxation: conviction that such a state of things is a standing reproach to the great nation, whose divine mission it is in all her territories to lift her people from a condition of serfdom into a condition of freedom (cheers): conviction that the time has come when reform must sweep away some of the old land-marks of prejudice, of selfishness and of ignorance. (Cheers.) I had always prophesied to you that you had but to tell the truth to the men of England to feel certain of a generous response. My prophecy has been more than vindicated even already by the interest displayed by those to whom we have gone for help, by the resolutions of sympathy which we have been commissioned to impart to you. (Cheers)

From Leicester we went to Newcastle, and if we were pleased with Leicester, were enraptured with Newcastle I revelled in the sensation of unrestricted liberty which contact with Newcastle gives, Newcastle the great city which is proud to own as its representative the Right Honorable John Moerly. The occasion there was the anniversary of Dr. and Mrs. Spencer-Watson's Silver wedding, and it would have done you good as it did me good to look upon the keen faces and stalwart frames of these children of the North Thereupon the smooth expanse of a lovely English lawn, surrounded by an audience catholic enough to contain the Rector and the quarry-man, we tried to explain what it was you asked and why you asked it. Amid those who spoke was the Rector, who pushed home this unanswerable argument; that not only should England be proud that India was so fast assimilating those elementary principles of freedom which had made England what she was, but that there would be room for dismay and regret if after so long a connection between the two countries the pupil had learnt absolutely nothing from the master (cheers.) That is the wholesome view of the situation. What, I ask, has our Church done here? What advice, what sympathy what guidance have we received from the numerous chaplains in the Government service? None, absolutely none! But we have received support, suggestion, sympathy and friendly criticism to their eternal honour be it said—from other preachers of the Gospel who, more particularly in India, have enormous opportunities, and, therefore, enormous responsibilities of educating the masses in the funda-



mental truths of good government (cheers). We must be ever grateful to the Missionaries, and to those others who are none the less good that they hold no office in the State, for lending us their energies rightly to direct the hudding aspirations of the people (cheers). There is room for reflection in the fact that just as Non-conformity is one of the strong-holds of Liberalism in England, so even in India we must look for support of a peoples' cause outside the narrow limits of our official Church (cheers) Do you want stronger evidence of the contracting influence of State service? (Cheers). The official world of India may do what it likes and can to arrest the development of popular principles, it may employ combination to thwart our aims, or come forward in the shape of a living Lieutenant-Governor to sneer at our requests (cheers). But England has, long ago, recognized that her hold upon India can only be justified by the moral good she does her subjects here: and I think you will find that she will agree with you that it is not moral that solemn promises solemnly made by Queen and Parliament should be broken, and in the language of Lord Lytton the people should be deliberately "cheated" of their hopes, and that it is not good either for themselves or for the people that about a thousand or fewer, English gentlemen should rule 200 millions of people without being called upon to render account for anything they do or say (cheers).

I will not go over our speeches in England. But I will tell you shortly the principles on which we agreed to speak. By concert we worked on certain broad intelligible lines. Those lines were to insure the interest of the English people by proclaiming four salient points. First: that the system under which I quoted the high authority of Sir Auckland Colvin himself, whose memory is a little treacherous, I fear, or he would scarcely have attacked Mr. Hume as he did on that point (laughter) It is true that Sir Auckland qualifies his description with the word "benevolent" That is a question of opinion. The fact of the despotism remains (cheers). I make Sir Auckland a present of his adjective (laughter). Secondly, that the Government was grossly extravagant: thirdly that the people were terribly poor: fourthly that the Judicial system required radical change, (cheers). We, your friends in England, gladly and gratefully admitted on your behalf and our own that the connection between the two countries was one that India is proud of and wishes ever to retain (cheers) We admitted the great boons, the innumerable benefits which English rule had conferred in India (cheers). We pointed to all the material advantages of railways and canal to the postal and the telegraphic systems; to the

security for life and property: to the wonderful facilities for education, wonderfully availed of. All this and more we recognized with thanks. And we pointed out this as the reason why England should not now refuse the boon so long expected, arrest the work so long carried on (cheers). Here, in India, for reasons that I cannot understand, we are traduced as treasonable, (laughter). In England we were praised for our moderation (laughter). Wherever we went we repeated the same assurance that the gratitude of the peoples of India to England assumed a very practical turn inasmuch as they were the most loyal people on the face of God's earth (loud cheers), serving with a loyalty not of insincere lip-service, but with a loyalty which had regard for principles, not persons, and, therefore, outlasting the lives of kings (loud cheers). It may be, you have not the loyalty which Sir Auckland Colvin demands, a homage which seems in his opinion to be coterminous with your admiration of the order to which he belongs (laughter and cheers). I trust you never will have that, (cheers) even though you incur the wrath and displeasure of a potentate so powerful as a Lieutenant-Governor (cheers). I have never heard the Queen's name mentioned without a touching exhibition of respect (loud cheers). You are right to reverence the name of a good and pure lady who through a long and useful life has strictly adhered to the principles of that great Constitution of which she herself is the great Head (cheers) But behind your obedience to the woman, there is your appreciation of those grand and glorious principles by her rigid adherence to which England ranks first in the long list of the nations of the world (cheers). Of those principles fixed and immutable which survive the death of ages, you are and ever will be, constant disciples, and your loyalty to England will be imperishable, because her sway is based on imperishable materials (loud cheers) That is true loyalty. And that you have (cheers). Were we not right in stating the strict truth that enormous contributions are levied upon the unfortunate ryot, upon whom, poor as he is, has now fallen the iniquitous increase in that most iniquitous tax—the Salt Tax (cheers) We are taunted with having alleged misrule. I repeat the charge (cheers). I say we are misruled, (cheers) and shall continue to be misruled till we are invested with the right to criticize the budget, (cheers) and with the right to speak with authority (cheers) I do not say—I never have said—that the Government sit down with the intention deliberately, to mis-rule us. I am aware that we are governed by men of high character. It would require the assumption of another Rajah

of Bhinga to advance so foolish a statement (laughter) But none the less do the Government of this country see things going on which they do not attempt to check, and they are as morally liable as though they had initiated each misdeed (cheers) Enormous sums of money are lavished upon the demarcation of a frontier which is so scientific that is no one can find it, (laughter) while the increasing annual deficit can only be met by increasing a hateful tax, (cheers). Is that misrule, or is it not? A special tribute is levied from the people as an insurance wasted upon war (Shame, shame) Is that misrule? (Cheers). Upon a pretext that will not bear investigation, a fresh annexation is carried out in Burmah, against the outcry of intelligent India. Is that misrule or is it not? (Cheers) I will waste no further time in proving what every one admits except the Government. If no one else will reply to Sir Auckland Colvin, I will. And though I do not wield the polished pen with which Sir Auckland excites the homage of "Patriotic Leader-lets" (laughter) nor possess that marvellous *repertoire* of "crushing" argument and scathing logic, which has put the whole Patriotic press in a frenzy of loud-tongued admiration, I have a few questions to put, to which I should like plain replies, (cheers) I like specific instances, with definite questions and definite answers It is a cruel method possibly (laughter) and its application may be resented by those who admit that a cat may look at a king, but deny that any one may question a Lieutenant-Governor except a Rajah or a Knight (laughter) But it has its use, and is a sound, of a disgustingly legal way of looking at a matter (laughter) I have a word to say, in passing, about Sir Auckland Colvin's letter, which I will say here There is one passage in it which makes me deeply regret its publication It is, to put it mildly remarkable that a gentleman holding the high position with all its attendant responsibilities of a Lieutenant-Governor, should have thought fit to proclaim aloud that the Government might check that liberty of organization which the Congress party have hitherto enjoyed (loud cheers). I would strongly recommend—this is not a threat but a warning—Sir Auckland Colvin not to make the attempt (loud cheers) India has progressed since the days when such a threat would terrify (loud cheers). Its pronouncement only shews me how right was the estimate of the Government which was made by those whose prudence on your behalf has prepared them for any such a contingency (cheers) We have laid a train of gunpowder at home which will explode if we telegraph the news that

the authorities here are attempting to suppress the right of public meeting (cheers). And if Sir Auckland makes the vain attempt, he will accelerate the severance of his own and his service's connection with the further administration of this Empire (loud cheers). If Sir Auckland is watching us, we also are watching him (cheers). And though we do not shrink from it (cheers). We shall go on as we have begun, temperately constitutionally, loyally; and if a strained relation spring into existence between rulers and ruled, we shall know where chiefly to lay the blame (cheers). If in England there be one man who more than another has bravely fought out and won the long fight for freedom of thought and speech; for liberty of action and expression; for toleration of opinion, and the right to meet and discuss great public questions: if there be among many giants one giant greater than the rest in his marvellous capacity of reaching the hearts of the English people who pay him the tribute of their affection and admiration because they are personally acquainted with the persecution heroically endured for conscience-sake: if there be a man who by the perfect purity of his private life—so far as perfect purity can obtain in this world—defied the most scurrilous of his assailants to lay his finger on one spot that need bring a blush to the forehead of an honest man: if there be an orator who can move the rough but kindly sympathy of the huge mass of working men in England: if there be one to whom you can turn as to a friend for assistance, for guidance, and may be for protection—if there be such a man I say, then such a man we have found in Charles Bradlaugh. [Mr Norton had to stop for some little time because of the vociferous and continued cheering] Aye, my friends, you may well cheer. For Charles Bradlaugh is one of the men of the age whose name has been written on the pages of his country's history (cheers) and whose reputation will remain a sacred memory in many an Englishman's home for centuries after his little world has forgotten all about Sir Auckland Colvin (Loud cheers). If there is to be a fight, I know which here I should like upon my side (cheers). Call Charles Bradlaugh what name you like, Atheist, Socialist, Malthusian. You cannot rob him of the glory which is that man's due, who by the force of his own great character has worked his way up from the humblest ranks of life till he stands and sees his reward for years of sacrifice and persecution written in indelible characters upon the statute-book of England (Loud cheers.) Only the other day he closed a speech at Nottingham, on Indian Reform with a sentence which epitomises the

of Bhingra to advance so foolish a statement (laughter) But none the less do the Government of this country see things going on which they do not attempt to check, and they are as morally liable as though they had initiated each misdeed (cheers) Enormous sums of money are lavished upon the demarcation of a frontier which so scientific that is no one can find it (laughter) while the increasing annual deficit can only be met by increasing a hateful tax, (cheers) Is that misrule or is it not? A special tribute is levied from the people as an insurance wasted upon war (Shame, shame) Is that misrule? (Cheers) Upon a pretext that will not bear investigation, a fresh annexation is carried out in Burmah, against the outcry of intelligent India Is that misrule or is it not? (Cheers) I will waste no further time in proving what every one admits except the Government If no one else will reply to Sir Auckland Colvin, I will And though I do not wield the polished pen with which Sir Auckland excites the homage of "Patriotic Leader lets' (laughter) nor possess that marvellous repertoire of "crushing" argument and scathing logic, which has put the whole Patriotic press in a frenzy of loud tongued admiration I have a few questions to put to which I should like plain replies (cheers) I like specific instances, with definite questions and definite answers It is a cruel method possibly (laughter) and its application may be resented by those who admit that a cat may look at a king, but deny that any one may question a Lieutenant-Governor except a Rajah or a Knight (laughter) But it has its use, and is a sound, of a disgustingly legal way of looking at a matter (laughter) I have a word to say, in passing, about Sir Auckland Colvin's letter, which I will say here There is one passage in it which makes me deeply regret its publication It is, to put it mildly remarkable that a gentleman holding the high position with all its attendant responsibilities of a Lieutenant-Governor, should have thought fit to proclaim aloud that the Government might check that liberty of organization which the Congress party have hitherto enjoyed (loud cheers). I would strongly recommend—this is not a threat but a warning—Sir Auckland Colvin not to make the attempt (loud cheers) India has progressed since the days when such a threat would terrify (loud cheer) Its pronouncement only shews me how right was the estimate of the Government which was made by those whose prudence on your behalf has prepared them for any such a contingency (cheers) We have laid a train of gunpowder at home which will explode if we telegraph the news that

the authorities here are attempting to suppress the right of public meeting' (cheers) 'And if Sir Auckland makes the vain attempt, he will accelerate the severance of his own and his service's connection with the further administration of this Empire (loud cheers). If Sir Auckland is watching us, we also are watching him (cheers). And though we do not shrink from it (cheers). We shall go on as we have begun, temperately constitutionally, loyally; and if a strained relation spring into existence between rulers and ruled, we shall know where chiefly to lay the blame (cheers). If in England there be one man who more than another has bravely fought out and won the long fight for freedom of thought and speech; for liberty of action and expression; for toleration of opinion, and the right to meet and discuss great public questions: if there be among many giants one giant greater than the rest in his marvellous capacity of reaching the hearts of the English people who pay him the tribute of their affection and admiration because they are personally acquainted with the persecution heroically endured for conscience-sake: if there be a man who by the perfect purity of his private life—so far as perfect purity can obtain in this world—defied the most scurrilous of his assailants to lay his finger on one spot that need bring a blush to the forehead of an honest man: if there be an orator who can move the rough but kindly sympathy of the huge mass of working men in England: if there be one to whom you can turn as to a friend for assistance, for guidance, and may be for protection—if there be such a man I say, then such a man we have found in Charles Bradlaugh. [Mr Norton had to stop for some little time because of the vociferous and continued cheering] Aye, my friends, you may well cheer. For Charles Bradlaugh is one of the men of the age whose name has been written on the pages of his country's history (cheers) and whose reputation will remain a sacred memory in many an Englishman's home for centuries after his little world has forgotten all about Sir Auckland Colvin (Loud cheers). If there is to be a fight, I know which hero I should like upon my side (cheers). Call Charles Bradlaugh what name you like, Atheist, Socialist, Malthusian. You cannot rob him of the glory which is that man's due, who by the force of his own great character has worked his way up from the humblest ranks of life till he stands and sees his reward for years of sacrifice and persecution written in indelible characters upon the statute-book of England (Loud cheers.) Only the other day he closed a speech at Nottingham, on Indian Reform with a sentence which epitomises the

history of his career. "I have put my hand to this plough, and I will break either wood or steel, or else I will drive it through" That is the class of man we need, (cheers). One who will not easily take up a cause, nor having taken one up, easily abandon it (cheers) Choose for yourself. The selection only is ours. The ratification lies with you. Will you have him? [Loud cheers and cries of yes, yes.]

Well, gentleman, you all know that after Newcastle, there was a great and splendid meeting at Northampton, the reports of which you have all read. Though I could not afford much time for other meetings, Mr. Bonnerjee, who is qualifying for a vote at Croydon so as to "heckle" the sitting member Mr Sidney Herbert on Indian questions (laughter), made a tour through Lincolnshire in company with Dr. Aubrey, the Liberal candidate at the next election. Everywhere Mr. Bonnerjee repeating the same simple facts met with the same generous reception (cheers). He even faced the ladies (laughter) You may imagine how bold Mr. Bonnerjee has become (laughter). When I first went home, he used to insist at the meetings that as I was his "junior" I should open the pleadings (laughter). Before I had left Mr. Bonnerjee dared what I could not dare (laughter), and spoke to Ladies' Association, (laughter). At all times a lady is a formidable critic. But a whole bevy of intellectual ladies leaves a man little more to hope for but extinction (laughter). Even from them we obtained a cordial promise of support: and you may guess how the fair sex will use their artifices on behalf of poor old India (laughter)

I cannot conclude without mention of Mr Digby, (loud cheers) He has worked indefatigably for you, (cheers) Without his help we could have done very little. But he threw a wonderful enthusiasm into our cause, a name I must ask Sir Auckland Colvin's pardon for using in connection with ourselves (laughter). He worked hard and deserves your warmest thanks (cheers) He deserves more. He deserves your money, (laughter and cheers) and mine (laughter) And he must have it. To my poor services or to Mr Bonnerjee's you are entitled free. We give them you for whatever they may be worth with all our best wishes (cheers) But Mr. Digby has to make his bread, and you cannot expect him to work for nothing. We have estimated that we shall need £1,000 a year for salary, printing, postage, hiring of halls, and so on. Surely the patriotism of United India is sufficiently great to raise 15,000 rupees a year. (Cheers). We must all give. (Cheers). All determine to keep our agency working.

(Cheers) All join to sustain the course of instruction to the English people which we have already inaugurated. Be true, be unselfish We shall win if we persevere; and we cannot persevere without money I plead to you for yourselves (Cheers) You will get no redress out here, (cheers) You must look to Endland (Cheers) More than ever now should you be united and alert There are clouds gathering around you There are dangers ahead Sir Auckland Colvin is the worst. But you have to encounter the fury of the Patriot gang who I feel assured will not scruple to attack you in every way, both legitimate and the reverse (Cheers) We have not at our command an inexhaustible exchequer, like Patriots, laughter We have no Nizam whom we can milch, (laughter). Nor are we fortunate enough to own an Abdul Huk, (loud laughter) whose breach of trust we could compound by the acceptance of a nuzzer (loud laughter). Such is a glimpse of the morality of some of those arrayed against us (Cheers) We must combine, and trust to our own good character and capabilities of self-sacrifice to beat down the storm of opposition (Cheers) Do not be dismayed by the rancour of the epithets that are hurled at us. Abuse is not argument, nor threats logic (Choers) The more ungovernable the patriots get the more calm and quiet must be our front (Chcers) I hail the filth that is so freely showered upon us as indications of our opponents' weakness (Cheers) If we were not so plentifully abused, we should not be half as well advertised as we are (Laughter) Therefore take heart from the array of illiterate knights and Rajahs (laughter) who atone for their defective education by the violence of their expletives (Laughter). We will meet them with a cheery face, and following the hint in Sir Auckland Colvin's letter, we will recommend the other side to devote to self culture and acquisition of knowledge, some portion—not all, for then we should be deprived of our advertisement (laughter) of that time which they now devote to the composition, by vicarious means. (Laughter) of monuments of astounding English. (Loud laughter) The alliance between Sir Auckland and the Rajahs cannot last. It is an unholy alliance (Cheers) Can Liberalism, even if official, flourish side by side with sentiments such as those which move a Bhinga or a Syed Hossain? (Cheers) For the moment the array is imposing, and of course, the union possesses great capacity for mischief (laughter), finally, Mr Jenkins in the *Oterland Mail* is entreating the Patriots to open an agency in England to counteract the rising tide in our favour. This is another reason why we must put our agency on a firm pecuniary



back to meet and refute all the falsehood which will inevitably be let loose upon us. [Cheers]. At first sight the forces against us look very imposing. If you abstain from action they may acquire a force they do not now possess. But if you are prudent you can face the present with absolute confidence and to look to a future where your sun will not be obscured.

Well roars the storm to those that hear  
 A louder voice across the storm,  
 Proclaiming social truth shall spread,  
 And justice win, tho' thrice again,  
 The red, fool fury of the Seas  
 Should fill her barricades with dead.  
 [Load and long continued cheers]

should be led by one of the people [Cheers] and Rajah Rama Rao is more in his proper element presiding over popular assemblies of his fellow countrymen, and lending them the weight of his long intimacy with the affairs of the world, than in participating in the deliberations of a senate which is deliberative only in name [Laughter] If I may be allowed to say so, our Chairman, during his term of office, absented himself from our public meetings under a misapprehension both of his own obligations to ourselves, and of the view which the Government might take of his participation in our labours, [Cheers] I say misapprehension, for whatever may have been the opinions of the late Governor who, we are all agreed, left this country for this country's good, [Laughter and cheers] I feel quite certain that the present administration would not desire that promotion into the Legislative Council should be interpreted as fixing 'the limit of a gentleman's utility to his country, [Cheers] I have no desire to flatter, I am not speaking for office [Laughter] It would be useless if I were for I am told no one who is not a native reads what I say [Laughter] Again there is no office for which I can speak [Laughter] You will not therefore, accuse me of interested motives if I say I have noticed, with deep gratitude, a distinct departure for the better in many public matters in that period of time during which we have been ruled by His Excellency Lord Connemara [Cheers] And I think you too should be grateful [Cheers] I will only quote one instance as an illustration I congratulate the Government and their nominee on the selection for the Government Pleadership of our well-known friend, Mr Subramania Iyer [Cheers] Gratifying us that selection must be personally to Mr. Subramania Iyer—and if you wish to learn how a Public Prosecutor should discharge his duties impartially to the Crown and prisoner alike, go and listen to our friend in Court [Cheers]—his nomination comes home to me with a deeper, wider significance It means that the old exclusiveness of racial partiality is at an end [Cheers] And that the prizes of the bar are no longer to be the exclusive perquisites at all costs of the Europeans [Cheers] It means that there is a promise hereafter of advancement to all professional men alike [cheers] that a wider field of ambition is opened out to Native as well as to Englishmen, which must ensure a corresponding increase in the amount and quality of legal talent [cheers] and that the reward hereafter will be to the best without distinction of caste or colour [Cheers] That is an innovation for which His Excellency and his Government are entitled to take credit [Cheers]

I know, of course, you expect me to speak to you on political matters. It would be strange if you did not, seeing how men's minds are running on the great awakening of public sentiment and aspiration. Most of you will have read what I said on Thursday last. I will not go over the old ground. But there are a few old points I wish to touch upon before I pass to newer topics. There is nothing more true than that old heresies die hard. And none will die harder than the heresy that you and I are asking for some share in representative Government that you and I are seeking to wrest power from the hands of the authorities, that we are actuated by a desire to hamper and impede the freedom of the executive. [Laughter] At the risk of wearying you, in the hope that some one of our critics will, by accident, read what I say [Laughter], let me plainly repeat what it is we want and why we want it. We ask for no share of the Executive [Cheers.] What we pray for is an extension of the already existing Legislative Councils—a very different thing—based upon a system of partial representation [cheers] Now, for making that request we are called hard names: we are denounced as traitors, we are held up to public scorn as renegades: we are told we are keeping a hungry eye upon the loaves and fishes [laughter]: that we are impelled by a disloyal desire to terminate the Queen's Government [laughter]. You laugh, because you know what you want, and how you have formulated your want. And you are struck by this grotesque libel of your wishes. But your critics do not laugh. They look at the matter in a more solemn light [laughter] They are terribly in earnest in their abuse. Yet how many, or rather how few have read what we have had to say upon these questions, and of those who have read, how few understand. [laughter]. The army of our enemies is composed of two classes of recruits: those who will not comprehend, and those who cannot [Laughter]. It is not easy to say with which class rests the weight in numbers. [Laughter]. Let me tell you a few facts. To-day, in Madras, we are told that European sentiment is against us: that our resolution is disloyal: that the very integrity of the Empire is at stake because we ask for an extension of the Legislative Council. [Laughter]. Yet here in my hand I hold a printed requisition to the Sheriff of Madras, convening a public meeting in this very hall, which meeting—you will scarcely credit it!—passed a resolution by acclaim that the Crown should be petitioned to give us a representative Legislative Council [Loud cheers]. And that was on the 25th March 1859! [Loud cheers]. Thirty years ago the citizens of Madras prayed for a reform upon the very point as to which Sir

Auckland Colvin tells us to-day we are still in *statu pupillari*, [loud cheers]. Fifty-five names are attached to that requisition of which forty-four are the names of English gentlemen, [cheers] And among those names I find the following John Vane Agnew of Messrs Arbuthnot and Co, Chairman, H E Sullivan, since first Member of Council here [cheers] William Arbuthnot, W H Arbuthnot both of Arbuthnot and Co, and one for many years member of the India Council, W J. Oakes, of Messrs. Oakes and Co, J H Cox, T L R Shaul, head of one of the greatest of our former mercantile houses; F. Agnew, A. Polpott of Messrs. Binny and Co, D D. Dimes of Dimes and Co, A Lowe; P Orr, John Miller, H E Church, W Burton Wright, Fitzgerald Church all three on the Madras Railway, John Bruce Norton; [loud cheers], John Shaw, Registrar of the High Court; Robert Franck, and J W Gantz, [cheers] Representative enough, surely, with indications of loyalty and common sense [cheers] That was in 1859! Thirty years have elapsed Since then education has spread, and great strides have been made in self-improvement and science of Government yet when we venture to petition loyalty for that which our fathers asked unblamed, we arouse the derision of a Lieutenant-Governor, and the threat of suppression, [Cheers] I must be pardoned if I prefer the opinions of the men whose names I have quoted to the opinion of an official whose political affinities are circumscribed by the narrow influences of his official surroundings, and whose sympathies are so delicately organized that their internal economy are violently disarranged by a catechism and a dialogue [laughter and cheers] Who have gone backward? The natives who are pressing for the reform our fathers asked for thirty years ago, [choors], or the Europeans who oppose the instalment of political wisdom which their ancestors demanded in public meeting a quarter of a century back [choors]. You have emancipated yourselves, from the thralldom of the school room It is we who have merited Sir Auckland Colvin's sneer [choors] What good will the reformed Council do to the Government? I am asked I reply that the reformation will introduce into their deliberation a new element of strength and information which, personally acquainted with the wants, the wishes and the superstitions of the people, will infuse a new life and a new vigour into the legislative enactments of the day It will save the Government from error, and legislation will cease to be the farce it is at present [choors] What will be the gain to the people? If no other, this: that we shall be gradually training up a large body of educated natives to

act in harmony and with cohesion for common ends [cheers] : that we shall be educating the national intelligence under a system which opens up fresh fields, to national ambition [cheers] ; and that with new lease of dignity and responsibility, we shall be calling into existence a higher sense of self-respect, the very Alpha and Omega of morality [cheers]. I for one am satisfied with such a vista [cheers]. And for advocating this, we are stigmatized as traitors ? [Cheers]. The Negro of the West Indies is not thought too backward for representative institutions [cheers]. In Ceylon the planters are represented by a member whom they elect themselves. [Loud cheers] Though the Governor retains the right of ultimate approval. The Singalese community is represented, so is the Burgher. [Cheers]. In Singapore the Chinese cooly sends a member to the Legislative Council [cheers]. Why are we, you and I, and the communities and interests we represent, to have no share in the legislation of this country ? [Cheers] Is the Brahmin inferior in intelligence to the Singhaloso, [laughter], the Sudra to the Chinese cooly [laughter], and the non-official European to both ? [Laughter] Except upon that supposition our exclusion from legislative rights is indefensible.

It is asserted over and over again that the movement is hostile to the Government. I think that the quite orderliness of our meetings [cheers], the intentions of the speakers as translated by their speeches, and, above all, the character of our delegates and of those who lead us in our demands should have protected us from so foolish an imputation [cheers]. Are men like Rajah Rama Rao likely to foment rebellion ? [Cheers]. Does Mr. Bonnerjee meditate separation [cheers] or Mr. Budr-ud-din Tyabjee revolt ? [Cheers]. Why should the best natives and the best of the non-official Europeans combine to thwart the Government under which both live and to assist and reform which is the loyal wish of both ? [Cheers]. Surely it is more generous, if not more prudent to credit us with good intent, and to believe that in the assemblies for which we are working we should unite to make the Government of the country more acceptable because more

Opposition in certain quarters is evoked by the belief that we have not stated truly all our demands, that we are keeping back our true intent, that we are labouring to insert the "thin end of the wedge," in order hereafter to benefit by the leverage of the thicker part [Laughter]. What does the metaphor mean? This that progress and reform are gradual; that the intangible portions of a people as represented by their hopes and ambitions solidify just as their buildings become old with time and their bodies are transformed by age [cheers]. Education and experience day by day augment and consolidate the political aspirations of all men [cheers]. That is a law of nature which not even Sir Auckland Colvin can check, though he may deny it [cheers and laughter]. And is it not right that as you are more fit for greater power you should get it? [Cheers]. It is propounded to me as a situation full of the most terrible portents that our real aim is in the hereafter to acquire some control over the expenditure of the nation. And I answer, why not? [Loud cheers.] I see nothing to frighten me in that contingency [cheers]. For I regard a check upon the gross extravagance of the Indian Government both here and in England the surest, if not the only, solution to the problem. "How is the financial condition of India to be remedied?" [Loud cheers]. And if in the fulness of time you qualify yourselves for executive office, I, for one, not only see no reason why you should not have it [cheers] but I see every reason why you should [loud cheers]. And, finally, if in that remote future which can be pictured, if at all, only by an exertion of our poetical faculties, you shall have so discarded your many prejudices of race, and caste, and creed, as to be able to combine as one nation for the Government of this country, if you shall have become so homogeneous, as to be able not merely to administer your own internal affairs for the common benefit of your various races with prudence and with impartiality, but to stand united as one large family against foreign aggression; [cheers] if, I say, such a day should arrive, and you were to demand from us the complete government of this country uncontrolled by England's supervision, I for one would contemplate your unfettered accession to the awful responsibility of empire under such circumstances with a pride it would be impossible to exaggerate, for I should recognize that the history of the world contained no record of any achievement which could compare with the marvellous accomplishment by my country of a labour so wonderful in its origin, so stupendous in its execution, and so divine in its fruition as this [loud cheers]. Such a picture has no terrors for me [cheers]. But

let us leave the land of dreams, and come back to the land of troubles [laughter] We are told we ought not to assert that there is any misrule in India [laughter] Why not, if it exist? Is the Government of this country to be the only one in the world exempted from criticism? Are we to ask for reform without making good our case for reform? [Cheers] I, at any rate, will not sue, as a matter of grace for that to which I am entitled as of right [cheers] And when the necessity for reform is denied I am free to justify my petition by proving the facts upon which its prayer for relief is founded [cheers] Let us first of all clearly understand what we mean by misrule I mean, and I believe you are one with me, acts whether executive or legislative, which, however well intentioned, are not in truth for the public benefit, carried into effect as a rule without previous consultation of the people whom they will most closely touch, and very often against the loudly declared opinion of those whose opinions are entitled to consideration and to weight [cheers] By misrule I mean the continuance of a system which by whatever name you choose to call it, is in fact despotism [cheers] By misrule, I mean the failure to give to the Councils' Act the full effect of that Statute By misrule, I mean the system of legislation which is a shame [cheers] and the absurd selection of nominees to the Legislative Councils which excludes independent intellect, and converts those assemblies into mere offices for registering the decrees of the executive [loud cheers] Let me be content with these illustrations It is not considered disloyal in England to point out their defects to the Government I do not know why it should be considered disloyal here [cheers] Disloyal or not, it must be done, for it is upon the truth and strength of any facts that I rest my right to redress [cheers] I want no eleemosynary concession [cheers] If I am wrong I deserve nothing But if I am right, I will not take from pity what I claim from justice [cheers] I charge it to the Government that they have been and are, grossly extravagant with the revenues of India In some instances the application of those revenues, I regret to say, has been absolutely dishonest [shame] I allege also that this extravagance verging at times on dishonesty is due to the simple fact that the tax payers of this country have no one to represent them here or in England are not consulted before their contributions are squandered with a recklessness which is criminal [loud cheers] Is that misrule if I can prove the fact? [Cheers] Or does Sir Auckland Colvin gloss this over with some euphemism extracted from that long glossary of euphemisms with which every apologist of the Governments of this country must be

provided? [Loud cheers]. We have been challenged to prove misrule I accept the challenge [cheers] And I will prove it by instalments [cheers]. To-night let me prove it by a few instances I have not time for many—extracted from the accounts with which the Indian Government furnish the Secretary of State in England. And I will confine myself to-night to some of the “Home Charges.” Amongst the permanent buildings erected in England for India’s purposes at India’s cost, the India office alone costs £540,000 which considering the amount and the quality of work done there, is a generous provision for housing the gentleman who called themselves the Indian Council [laughter] For the salaries of the officials in England from that of the Secretary of State to the wages of the thirty-two house maids and charwomen who, I take it, help to enliven the lassitude of the Members of Council [laughter] India pays £220,906 [shame]. For furlough and absentee allowances, she pays £269,961: for military furlough allowances £267,101. At a cost of £1,118,787 five ships were built for India. To work these we are annually debited with £277,072 [shame] You will be surprised to hear that if India happens to use the services of an officer who has earned a “distinguished service” annuity for duty performed, say in Ashantee or New Zealand, India has to bear the cost of such annuity [shame] In addition to the ships I have referred to India pays for the Queen’s ships employed in Indian seas £44,237, and we support establishments in China, a Mission to the Court of Persia, and a Consulate at Jeddah, with none of which have we any concern, at an annual expenditure of £25,366 In 1883, India was called upon to contribute £5,113,171 to England for charges of which the foregoing are merely specimens Compare the estimates presented to Parliament for the Colonies The total vote was for £2,156,263, and towards this sum the Colonies were expected to give only £185,700<sup>1</sup> Is it a strained inference to draw that the reason for this difference of treatment lies in the fact that the Colonies are not, like India, at the mercy of the House of Commons? [Shame] If India is rightly taxed for English ships and men, how comes it, I should like to know, that the British tax-payer provides nearly 25,000 men and a number of war-ships at his own expense for the protection of people’s properties, other than his Indian fellow-subjects? [Cheers] Moreover, among the institutions built and furnished in England by the ryots of India, is an Engineering College which cost £100,000, worked at an annual loss of £5,000 which India has to meet That College was erected for the use of gentlemen who desired to enter the Punjab Works Department in



never been able, in the language of Sir Auckland Colvin, to make, "some serious effort to dispose ' of the charge that the Government of India is responsible for 'existence of misrule [loud cheers] Serious efforts, forsooth! The efforts have been seriously made by serious people in serious pamphlets over and over again in England [Cheers] It is possible that Sir Auckland, like Sir Monstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, consigns the criticisms of those who differ from him unread to the depths of a bottomless waste paper basket [cheers and laughter] I should be sorry to believe it, and I will not, till Sir Auckland Colvin tells us so himself and when he does I will retort it upon him specifically as a concrete instance of 'misrule' under his own 'benevolent' administration [cheers and laughter] On some other occasion, or in some other form I will continue my narration of financial burthens unfairly laid upon our backs [cheers] For to-night I have said enough to afford you food for thought Go home and study the figures I have given you, and ask far and wide among the circle of your friends and relatives here and in the Mofussil, whether there is untruth or recklessness in our constantly reiterated complaint that we are labouring, voiceless and unpitied, amid a sea of wilful and unpardonable extravagance [loud cheers]

I have been asked more than once why I identify myself with a movement which carries so little European sympathy in India, and which tends to make its advocates unpopular in certain circles, why I have allied myself with one who holds the religious opinions of Mr Bradlaugh (cheers) The very question shows how far away from English standards of political morality my questioners have fallen Let me give them here my answer, once for all I am proud of Mr Bradlaugh's co operation, because I am proud to be associated with an honest and a fearless man (loud cheers) I am proud to work, no matter, how humbly, with one who has never swerved a hair's breadth from allegiance to the people's cause (Cheers) Of him I have already spoken on a previous occasion I will only add to-night of his religious convictions what Tennyson has so aptly said—

There is more faith in honest doubt,

Believe me, than in half the creeds [Loud cheers]

I advocate the people's cause—yours and my own, for I have never disassociated the European from the Native in a reform which I believe to be essential to both (cheers)—because I believe it to be the only right and true one, because experience has taught me what expediency also supports, that thirty years is a long period of probation, even in the life time of a

India Yet the benefits of that institution are open to all the world, and men who never intend to go to India can, by the payment of the usual fees, participate in this enforced contribution from the natives of India [shame, shame] Yet, again, let me give you another instance England has built at Ealing, near London, a Lunatic Asylum for which she has charged India £38,000 ! [Laughter] That institution is also worked at an annual deficit of £5,000 which is debited to us [shame] Why, I want to know, should India be compelled to maintain for English lunatics, an institution which in her own instance England throws the cost of upon the parish or the friends of the unfortunates ? [Cheers] If ever I have charged the Government of India with want of provision and foresight I humbly withdraw the allegation in the face of an establishment which may yet afford shelter for some of those who are responsible for the waste and extravagance of our finances [loud laughter, and cheers]. A few minor instances, and I have done. Why should we pay for a portrait of a Prince and a Viceroy at the cost of £812 for the adornment of the Council Chamber at Calcutta ? [Cheers] The munificence of each might have made the monuments more precious by investing it with the grateful associations of a gift [cheers] and not with the recollection that an impoverished people are taxed for a folly [cheers]. The extension of the Order of the Star of India, bestowed with a nice discrimination which includes a man like Abdul Huq as a recipient [laughter and cheers] has cost this country £13,907 [shame]. A passage by the P and O. costs £67. Yes it was thought necessary to send Lord Lytton home at a cost to this country of £5,827-10-1 ! [Laughter] With a liberality which does not mark the proceedings of the Houses of Parliament, the Government of India pay, not out of their pocket but the pocket of Indian tax-payers, £335 to Surgeon-General Moore for a "Manual of Family Medicine for India" [laughter; £2,626 to a Mr. Wardle for "investigating the dyes and wild silks of India;" [laughter and 'shame']; £695-8-2 to Mr Colquhoun for his account of "Overland journey from Canton to Rangoon" [laughter]; and £1,066-19-8 in one year and £992-10-8 in another year to a nameless officer for—what ! "Indian pendulum observations." [Loud laughter] Have I not quoted instances as shameless extravagance ? [Cheers] Is not extravagance misrule ? [Cheers] If it be not, I know not what interpretation plain, sensible, men will place upon the meaning of the word [cheers]. And if it be, what becomes of the reiterated statement that we who desire to see a wise economy substituted for the reckless improvidence of Indian finance, have

never been able, in the language of Sir Auckland Colvin, to make, "some serious effort to dispose" of the charge that the Government of India is responsible for 'existence of misrule' [loud cheers] Serious efforts, forsooth! The efforts have been seriously made by serious people in serious pamphlets over and over again in England [Cheers] It is possible that Sir Auckland like Sir Monstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, consigns the criticisms of those who differ from him unread to the depths of a bottomless waste paper basket [cheers and laughter] I should be sorry to believe it, and I will not, till Sir Auckland Colvin tells us so himself and when he does I will retort it upon him especially as a concrete instance of "misrule" under his own 'benevolent' administration [cheers and laughter] On some other occasion, or in some other form I will continue my narration of financial burthens unfairly laid upon our backs [cheers] For to-night I have said enough to afford you food for thought Go home and study the figures I have given you, and ask far and wide among the circle of your friends and relatives here and in the Mofussil, whether there is untruth or recklessness in our constantly reiterated complaint that we are labouring, voiceless and unpitied, amid a sea of wilful and unpardonable extravagance [loud cheers]

I have been asked more than once why I identify myself with a movement which carries so little European sympathy in India and which tends to make its advocates unpopular in certain circles, why I have allied myself with one who holds the religious opinions of Mr Bradlaugh (cheers) The very question shows how far away from English standards of political morality my questioners have fallen Let me give them here my answer, once for all I am proud of Mr Bradlaugh's co-operation, because I am proud to be associated with an honest and a fearless man (loud cheers) I am proud to work, no matter, how humbly, with one who has never swerved a hair's breadth from allegiance to the people's cause (Cheers) Of him I have already spoken on a previous occasion I will only add to-night of his religious convictions what Tennyson has so aptly said—

There is more faith in honest doubt,

Believe me than in half the creeds [Loud cheers]

I advocate the people's cause—yours and my own, for I have never disassociated the European from the Native in a reform which I believe to be essential to both (cheers)—because I believe it to be the only right and true one, because experience has taught me what expediency also supports, that thirty years is a long period of probation, even in the life time of a

nation, and that it is best and wisest to yield gracefully what must be acquired eventually at all cost. I will answer also in the words with which Robert Browning answered question—

"Why am I a Liberal?"

"Why?" "Because all I *h*aply can or d*o*,

All that I am now, all hope to be—

Whence comes it save from fortune setting free

Body and soul the purpose to pursue,

God traced for both? *I*f fetters, not a few,

Of prejudice, convention, fall from me,

These shall I bid men—each in his degree

Also God-guided—bear and gaily too?

But little do or can the best of us:

That little is achieved through Liberty.

Who then does hold, emancipated thus,

His fellow shall continue bound? Not I,

Who live, love, labour freely nor discuss

A brother's right to freedom. That is?

"Why?"

[Loud and continued cheering]